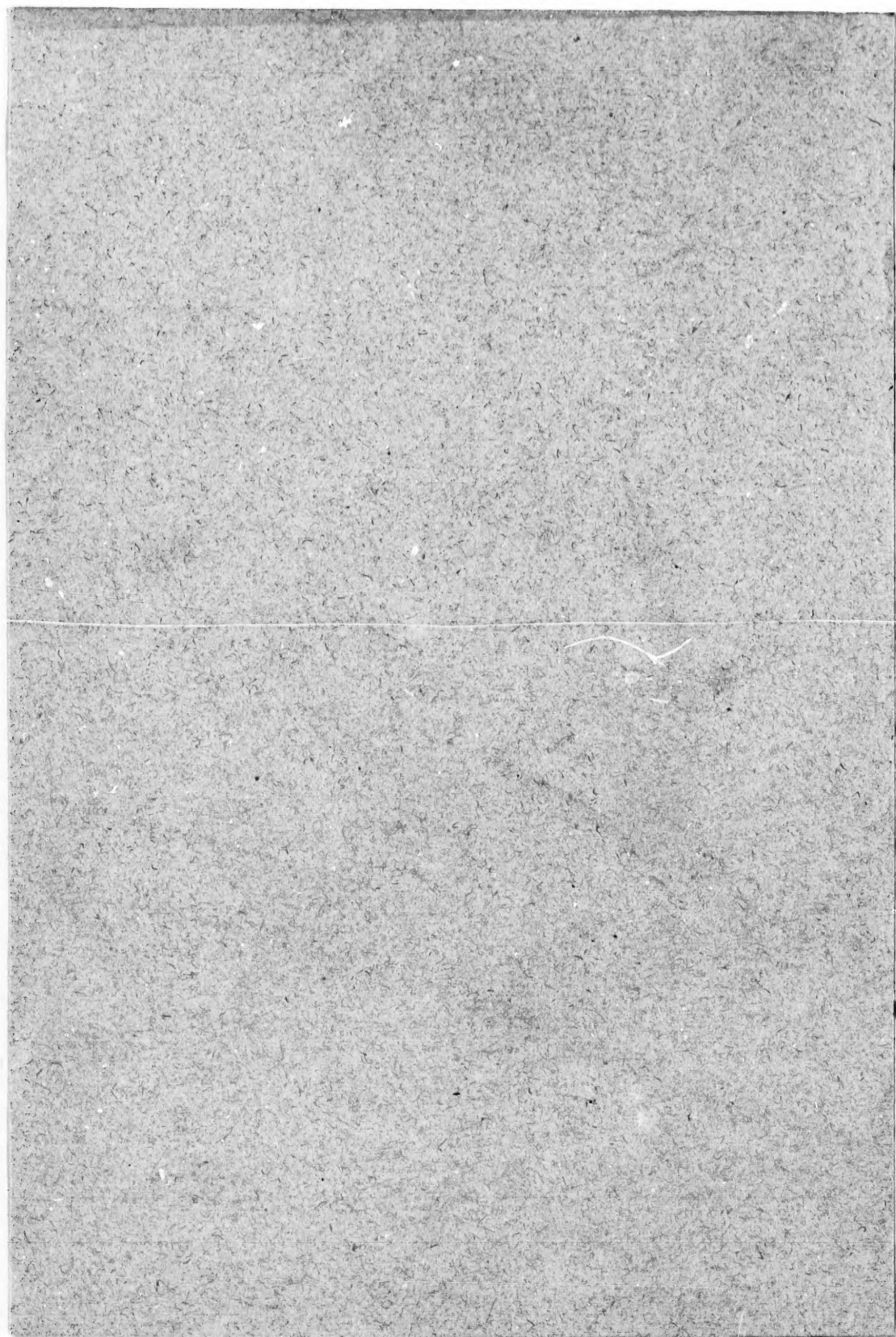


THE
GLADWIN MANUSCRIPTS

1890
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND A
SKETCH OF THE CONSPIRACY OF
PONTIAC, BY CHARLES MOORE

LANSING, MICH.
ROBERT SMITH PRINTING CO.
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THE GLADWIN MANUSCRIPTS,

TOGETHER WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND AN HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC.

BY CHARLES MOORE.

[Reprinted from the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. 27.]

INTRODUCTION.

Pontiac has a well defined place in the story of this country. The temporary success of his great conspiracy against the English and his tragic death by the hand of an assassin; and especially the fact that he embodied in his own person the most formidable protest against the encroachments of the whites on the hunting grounds of the red men, have combined to make him the heroic figure in northwestern history during the years between the surrender of Canada to the English and the War of the Revolution. Moreover, the genius of Parkman has made it certain that the name of Pontiac will never cease to be remembered among English speaking people on this continent.

What changes might have taken place in the development of the northwest had Pontiac's conspiracy been successful, can only be surmised. That he was foiled in his great purpose and after many minor successes was compelled in the end to acknowledge defeat was due to the unexampled intrepidity, carefulness and soldierly training of one man. The sagacity of Henry Gladwin and his success in withstanding the long siege of Detroit, mark him as one of the very few great Indian fighters in our history. And yet when one inquires as to Gladwin's history before or after the siege of Detroit, one finds even on the pages of Parkman nothing but a misspelled name.

Four years ago, the writer began the task of getting together what facts were known as to Gladwin's career. On appealing to Mr. Parkman in person, the result was a charming morning among the roses at his home on the banks of Jamaica Pond; but no information. Nor did a pro-

longed search among the Parkman manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library add much to the meagre stock of knowledge already available. The Haldimand and Bouquet collections of letters were drawn upon both as they appear in part in the published volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and as they exist entire in manuscript form at Ottawa; but here again the results were simply tantalizing.

Meantime, a search through the files of the Gentleman's Magazine from 1755—the date of Gladwin's coming to America—to the end of the century, yielded the date of his death (1791), and, what was more important, the dates of the marriages of several of his daughters. It so happens that the family into which Mary, Gladwin's third daughter, married, finds a place in Burke's County Families, and after repeated importunities, a letter was received from the present representative of that family, R. D. de Uphauigh, of Hollingbourne, near Maidstone, who referred the writer to Rev. Henry Gladwyn Jebb, of Firbeck Hall, Rotherham, Yorkshire, who took a decided interest in the matter, and who kindly sent the manuscripts, copies of which are given below.

With the assistance of the descendants of Gen. Gladwin the following facts in regard to his life were brought to light:

HENRY GLADWIN.

The Gladwin family traces its descent from Thomas Gladwin, who lived at Boythrope, county Derby, and who was born about 1605. He was the father of Thomas Gladwin, Esq., justice of the peace, of Tupton Hall, who was baptized in 1630, and was high sheriff of Derby county in 1667. In 1660 he had a grant of arms. His eldest son was Lemuel, from whom descended Miss Lord, of Tupton Hall. Another son, John, had a daughter, Dorothy, who married the Right Honorable, the Earl of Newburgh; and another daughter, Jane, who married Gen. William Wynyard. There were also two daughters, Mary and Dorothy. The second son of Thomas was Henry Gladwin, with whom we have to do.¹

Henry Gladwin was born in 1730. The first record of him is found in the British Army Lists for 1753, in which he appears as a lieutenant of the 48th foot (advanced from 2d lieutenant, Irish half-pay). From the Gentleman's Magazine of 1755 we learn that Gladwin was a subaltern in Colonel Dunbar's regiment at the time of the Braddock defeat at Little Meadows, and that he was among those who showed bravery on that occasion is proved by the fact that he was among the eight wounded sub-

¹ From a printed slip furnished by Capt. Richard Henry Goodwin Gladwyn, of Hinchleywood, Derbyshire.

alterns of his regiment, five of his fellow lieutenants having been killed. His name is spelled "Glandwin" in the report, but is correctly spelled in General Braddock's orderly book No. 2, as reprinted in Lowdermilk's History of Cumberland. It was during this campaign that Gladwin came under the notice of Lieutenant Colonel Gage, with whom he sustained most friendly relations in after years.² It would be very interesting to know if at this time a personal acquaintance was formed between Lieutenant Gladwin and George Washington, but continued search through every book and document likely to shed light on this matter fails to give even the slightest information on the subject.

In a letter from Sir Jeffrey Amherst to Lord Barrington, Secretary at War, dated Crown Point, August 10, 1759, we find this mention of Gladwin:³

"I now enclose to your Lordship * * as likewise a copy of a Commission to serve as Major during the Campaign that I thought necessary for the good of His Majesty's Service to grant to Captain Gladwin as 'Eldest Captain of Gage's, as Major to that Regiment. * * I hope my having appointed Majors to the Corps during the Campaign will meet with His Majesty's gracious approbation."

On May 28, 1760, Gen. Amherst ordered Gladwin from New York by way of Fort Pitt, to relieve Niagara. On his way he was to leave 150 men at Presq' Isle where he was to throw up an intrenchment.⁴ On his way across Lake Erie, Gladwin made a chart of the coast.

On September 9, Vaudreuil announced to the Beaujou at Michilimackinac, the capitulation of Montreal; and on October 18, Monckton wrote to Bouquet that Amherst had ordered Major Robert Rogers to Michilimackinac to take possession of the upper posts. With Rogers went Captain Campbell with a detachment to garrison Detroit. On the same day Amherst wrote from Crown Point to the Duke of Richmond:⁵

"I really am sorry that Your Grace's Protection to Captain Gladwin with the mention you were pleased to make of his promotion, has not been attended with better success. I would renew my application to Lord Barrington, but I can expect no good effect from it, since your Grace's mentioning Captain Gladwin has not taken place; this is the second Campaign I have given him a Commission to serve as Major, and if I may be allowed to forget for a moment that he is recommended by Your Grace, it is a justice I owe to his Services, to say, the manner in which he has at all times commanded Gage's (the 80th Foot) Corps does

² See letter, Gladwin to Gage, in Gladwin MSS.

³ I am under deep obligations to Col. William Ludlow, Military Attaché, Embassy of the United States, London, England, who, at the request of Senator James McMillan, obtained for me copies of every mention of Gen. Gladwin on file in the British War Office. The request made by Col. Ludlow was complied with through the courtesy of the Marquis of Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War; Sir Ralph Thompson and Sir Arthur Halliburton. Copies of entire correspondence are now in my possession.

⁴ Monckton to Bouquet, July 6, 1760. Bouquet Papers.

⁵ British War Office MSS.

"him great honour, and as you have been so good to speak for him, I hope
"he will get the rank of Major to that Regiment, for I do not know any
"Captain in the Army more deserving of it."

The Bouquet Papers, printed in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, give information as to the reception of Major Rogers at Detroit and descriptions of the post and of Detroit life. On July 30, 1761, Major Walters writes to Bouquet that Sir William Johnson and Major Gladwin are at Niagara on their way to Detroit, with 300 light infantry; and on August 11 the party had reached Presq' Isle. Gen. Amherst reported his action to the Secretary of War, in a letter dated Albany, August 13, 1761, as follows:⁶

"I have sent a detachment of three hundred men to the Upper Lakes
"under the command of Capt. Gladwin of Gage's, and I have judged it
"for the good of His Majesty's Service to appoint Captain Gladwin to act
"as Major during this Expedition, for which I have given him a Commis-
"sion, that I hope His Majesty will approve of."

The extract from Commission above referred to, dated 22nd June, 1761, is as follows:

"By His Excellency Jeffrey Amherst, Esqre., Major General and Com-
"mander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, &c., &c.,
&c.

"To Henry Gladwin, Esqre., Captain in His Majesty's 80th Regiment
"of Light Armed Foot.:

"Whereas I have thought it requisite for the better carrying on of His
"Majesty's Service that a Major should be appointed to His Majesty's
"80th, or Regiment of Light Armed Foot, I do by virtue of the Power and
"Authority to me given and granted by His Majesty, hereby constitute
"and appoint you to be Major to the said Regiment, during this Campaign
"only; after which you are to return to the rank of Captain unless pro-
"vided for otherwise; you are therefore, &c., &c."

Captain Campbell reports (August 17) to Bouquet the arrival at Detroit of Sir William Johnson and Major Gladwin, and enlarges on the unstinted hospitality that marked the visit. Sir William was convinced that the Indian conspiracy against the English was universal, a fact that Amherst doubted. It also appears from the correspondence that a Mr. Theis had built at Niagara a schooner drawing seven feet of water and carrying six guns, to be commanded by Lieutenant Robertson; and a sloop to carry ten guns. These were the vessels that played such an important part in the Pontiac seige.

In the festivities and negotiations Gladwin had no part. An attack of fever and ague confined him to his quarters; and it was not until October 12 that he had recovered sufficiently to return.⁷

⁶ British War Office MSS.

⁷ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, p. 116

After leaving Detroit, Gladwin sailed for England, and on March 30, 1762, he married Frances, the daughter of the Rev. John Beridge. The photograph taken from Mrs. Gladwin's portrait shows that in middle life she was a handsome woman. Indeed at first glance the portrait would be taken for a picture of Martha Washington. That at the age of 18 she must have been a beautiful bride is quite evident; and one can readily believe that it was with no little reluctance on both sides that soon after the marriage the bridegroom again set his face towards the American wilderness. Perhaps it was by way of a wedding present that Gladwin was offered a majority in Bouquet's regiment of Royal Americans; but he declined the proffer, because he preferred to take his chances in the regular British army. The correspondence on the subject is to be found in a letter from Amherst⁸ dated June 15, 1762, stating that he had granted a commission to Major Gladwin of Wilmott's (80th Foot) to succeed Major Walters in the Royal American Regiment; but in a subsequent letter (July 20, 1762) the General states that Major Gladwin chose to remain in the 80th Regiment. Gladwin explains his decision in a letter to Bouquet, dated July 29. On August 1, we get trace of Gladwin at Niagara; and on the 23d he arrived at Detroit as commandant.⁹

In Bouquet's correspondence with Gen. Amherst during 1763 there are occasional references to Gladwin; but the latter seems to have been little given to the use of his pen. From these scattered references one learns that Amherst had unbounded confidence in the young major; and that while steps were taken to give him relief, yet the gravity of his situation during the long siege seems not to have been appreciated at headquarters. The letter from Gladwin to Amherst, given in the Gladwin MSS., dated November 1, 1763, states the conclusion of the whole Pontiac matter. The promotions given to Gladwin later show that his services were appreciated by Amherst, who had the reputation for preferring officers of ability to officers who had family connections; and finally the home authorities were brought to grant recognition corresponding with Gladwin's deserts.

While the siege of Pontiac was in progress, Sir Jeffrey Amherst on turning over his command to General Gage, on November 17, 1763, said in his instructions: "It was my intention that the 42d Regiment should have garrisoned the Detroit and Posts above, but as it has been found impracticable for that Regiment to advance from Presq' Isle this season, I have empowered Major Gladwin to keep up the 80th Regiment on such an event."

It is not the intention here to tell the well-known story of Pontiac's siege of Detroit; but merely to give the hitherto unknown facts as to Gladwin's life. In a volume of Parkman's MSS., marked "Pontiac Miscellanies, 1764," is a letter from Gage to Bradstreet, dated at New York,

⁸ British War Office MSS.

⁹ Bouquet Papers.

October 15, 1764, in which Gen. Gage states that Gladwin had delivered Bradstreet's letters of August 28 and 29; and on October 12th Gage (who had succeeded Amherst) wrote to the Secretary of War:¹⁰

"Major Gladwin having come here from Detroit, and his private affairs long ago requiring his presence in England, I have given him leave to go home before the 80th Regiment to which he belongs is reduced."¹¹

"The Services this Gentleman had performed will alone be sufficient to recommend him to your Protection. I would only presume to hope that his merit will procure him the same rank that every other Officer has hitherto obtained who has served in the Station of Deputy Adjutant General."

From Gladwin's letter to Gen. Gage, dated Stubbing, England, February 24, 1774, printed in the Gladwin MSS., we find that he had settled down to the life of a country gentleman, after having been presented at Court. He never saw further military service, and died on June 22, 1791.

The obituary notice in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1791, is as follows:

"After a long illness at his seat at Stubbing, near Chesterfield, county Derby, Major-general Gladwin, an officer of great merit. He had served a long time in America, where he was wounded at the action with the French and Indians at the back settlements on the banks of the river Ohio, in July, 1755, when Gen. Braddock, the English commander, unhappily lost his life."

Gladwin was buried in the Wingerworth Church, and the inscription on his monument is as follows:

"Here lieth the remains of General H. Gladwin. He departed this life on the 22nd day of June, 1794, in the 62d year of his age. He was distinguished by all those private and social duties which constitute to the man and the Christian. Early trained to arms and martial deeds he sought for fame amidst the toils of hostile war, with that ardour which animates the breast of a brave soldier. On the plains of North America he reaped the laurels at the battles of Niagara and Ticonderoga, in which he was wounded. His courage was conspicuous and his memorable defence of Fort Detroit against the attack of the Indians will long be recorded in the annals of a grateful country.

"Also Mary and Henry, son and daughter of the aforesaid General H. Gladwin and his wife, who died in infancy; Martha Gladwin, their daughter, died October 17, 1817, aged 32.

"Also Frances, sister of the late John Beridge, of Derby, M. D., and widow of the above General Gladwin, died October 16, 1817, aged 74 years."

¹⁰ British War Office MSS.

¹¹ The 80th Regiment was disbanded on 5th December, 1764.

It is probable that the monument to Gladwin was erected a considerable time after his death, for the date given thereon, 1794, is three years later than his death actually occurred, as is proved by the record in the *Gentleman's Magazine* quoted above.

Gladwin's eldest son, Charles Dakeyne of Belmont and Stubbing, was born in 1775 and died in 1844, leaving one daughter. Gladwin's daughter, Frances, married June 9, 1841, Francis Goodwin, Esquire, of Mapleton. He bequeathed all his estates to his nephew, the Rev. Henry Johnson Goodwin, of Hinchleywood, county Derby, from whom they descended to Captain Richard Henry Goodwin, late captain of the 6th Foot, who assumed the additional name and arms of Gladwin a year after he came into the property.

Captain Gladwin, under the date of January 2, 1894, writes me that he has no record of Gen. Gladwin's early life, and that unfortunately when he came into the estate all papers and records had been destroyed. He, however, sent photographs of General and Mrs. Gladwin, and a copy of the monument inscription as given above.

Gen. Gladwin's second daughter, Dorothy, married, January 4, 1792, Joshua Jebb, Esquire, whose descendant, the Rev. Henry Gladwyn Jebb, under the date of December 27, 1893, writes me:

"I had hoped to send you some information by this day's mail on the subject of my great grand-father, General Gladwin. The Derbyshire house and home of the Gladwins is Tupton Hall, in North Wingfield Parish, near Chesterfield, which was built in 1611, and has been altered scarcely at all since an addition built about 1670. The line of Gladwin merged into an heiress nearly two hundred years ago, and her descendants, a family named Lord, lived there until recently, when the last of her line died and left the estate to strangers. I had then, however, the opportunity of buying all the family pictures, one a group of ten, Thomas Gladwin and his wife, down to a baby. I got one bit of Gladwin plate, dated like the picture 1672, a good deal of old furniture and some old books.

The MSS. given below were among the papers obtained by Mr. Jebb, who sent them to me on March 12, 1894, saying:

"At last I have come upon letters relating to Major Gladwin, which I hope may prove interesting to you. I have not time just now to copy them or even to read them through."

Mary, the third daughter of Gen. Gladwin, married November 29, 1800, Baldwin Duppa, Duppa Esquire, of Hollingburn, near Maidstone, Kent, the present representative of which family is R. de Uphauigh, Esq., of Hollingburn, who in my case proved the key to the other descendants of Gladwin, since it was through his kind offices that I was put in communication with them.

HENRY GLADWIN AND THE SIEGE OF PONTIAC.¹

The conquest of Canada by the English brought about several readjustments within the territory now included in the State of Michigan. The only settlements were at Detroit, at Mackinac (Michillimackinac), at Sault Ste. Marie and St. Joseph; and of these only the ones at Detroit and Mackinac were of importance. The seat of government was transferred from Quebec to New York, whence General Jeffery Amherst exercised military control over the posts. Under him Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt (Pittsburg) ranked the commandant at Detroit; but the latter held a general control over the upper lake posts and reported directly to General Amherst. Indian affairs were in charge of Sir William Johnson, whose headquarters, at Johnson Hall in the present State of New York, swarmed with Indian retainers and dependents, as well as with his own half-breed children. Under Sir William was his deputy, George Croghan, who was constantly engaged in going from tribe to tribe in his efforts to keep the peace.

Along the Atlantic coast an American population of English and Dutch descent peopled the country. Nominally colonists, these people formed practically a group of independent states, only awaiting the coming of events already foreshadowed to coalesce into a new nation. From this sturdy civilization the lake region was completely cut off by the Alleghanies, a barrier not to be crossed at all until the close of the Revolution; and for Michigan not until long after that date. As under the French, so under the English, the lake region continued to be held by garrisons maintained in an Indian country for the protection of the fur-trade. The difficulties of the situation arose from the fact that the Indians disputed the right of the French to dispose of the country to the English; while on their part, the English, having no longer to fear the French power, took less and less pains to conciliate the Indians.

Captain Donald Campbell, as he settled down for a long winter at Detroit (1760), was not ill pleased with his situation.² The fort was large and in good repair, with two bastions towards the river and a large, strong bastion towards the Isle au Cochon (Belle Isle); two six-pounders and three mortars made up the battery. Within the high palisades some seventy or eighty houses lined the narrow streets. The fertile

¹ Read before the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, at the annual meeting, 1895; and now reprinted from Harper's Magazine for June, 1897, by permission of Harper & Brothers. Copyrighted.

² Capt. Campbell had been left in command of the British garrison at Detroit by Major Robert Rogers, to whom the post was surrendered, on November 29, 1760, by M. Beletre, the French commandant.

country along both banks of the river was cut into narrow farms fronting on the water and extending back into the endless forest. The Indians living in the vicinity of the Fort, as well as the settlers, looked to the commandant for both justice³ and supplies. The soldiers were contented, a fact which the captain ascribed to the absence of rum; and the Indians were seemingly friendly, although the supplies issued to them were meagre in extreme. The social life at Detroit especially pleased the gray-haired bachelor commandant. The women surpassed his expectations; and the men, although very independent, were ever ready for pleasure. The Sunday card parties at the commandant's quarters, attended by both sexes, gave to life at Detroit a zest not known at Fort Pitt; and at a ball, given in honor of the King's birthday, the array of ladies was so fine as to call forth Captain Campbell's hearty commendations, in one of his numerous gossip letters to Colonel Bouquet. Moreover, both the French and the Indians were as fond of the pleasure-loving captain as their fickle natures would allow.

During the summer, however, emissaries from the Six Nations came to Detroit with large belts, for the purpose of stirring up a general warfare against the English. Matters became so serious that Sir Jeffrey Amherst thought best to send Sir William Johnson to make a treaty at Detroit, and to dispatch Major Gladwin with three hundred light infantry to strengthen the western posts. On their arrival in September, Sir William stated his conviction that the conspiracy against the English was universal; but this opinion was not shared by General Amherst. The latter thought the Indians incapable of doing serious harm, but ordered, by way of precaution, that they be kept short of powder.

The visit of Sir William Johnson was the greatest social event that the people of Detroit had ever known. Captain Campbell was in his element. On Sunday evening he gave a ball to which he invited about twenty of the French maidens of the settlement. The dance began at eight o'clock in the evening and lasted until five next morning. It was opened by Sir William and Mademoiselle Cuillerie, the daughter of the principal French trader; and her black eyes made such a lasting impression on the gallant Indian agent that the exchange of compliments between them appears in the correspondence for several years, the last mention being found in a letter from James Stirling, who, on behalf of his wife, returns hearty thanks for Sir William's civilities to her, four years previous. Before leaving Detroit, Sir William also gave a ball, and on this occasion the dancing continued for eleven hours. There was also a round of dinners and calls, at which wines and cordials were served without stint; presents were showered upon the Indians, and

³ Gladwin MSS. Warrant issued by Sir Jeffrey Amherst to Major Henry Gladwin, for the trial and execution of the sentences in the case of two Pania (Pawnee) slaves for the murder of John Clapham. The original warrant was in my possession.

after the final council all the principal inhabitants dined with the diplomat of the forest.

In all these festivities Major Gladwin had no part. Lying in a little house, within hearing of the lively fiddle and the laughter of the dancers, the fever of the country racked his bones and made him long for his Derbyshire home. At evening Sir William would visit him to talk over the events of the day and plan for the future; and it was not until the middle of October that Gladwin was able to leave for Fort William Augustus on his way to England.

In July, 1762, the Indians learned with satisfaction that England was at war with Spain, and soon the report spread far and wide that the French and Spanish were to retake Quebec and all Canada. Here at last was the chance for which the savages had been waiting. With the help of the French they could drive out the English, and once more receive solicitous attention from both nations. At this juncture Major Gladwin again appeared at Detroit, this time with orders to establish posts on Lake Superior and to exercise general supervision over the north-western establishments. Captain Campbell, although now somewhat wearied by the sameness of garrison pleasures, remained as second in command; and the favor in which he was held by both the French and the Indians was a decided help to the adroit and business-like Gladwin. For company the officers had Sir Robert Davers, an Englishman of education and adventurous disposition, who had been exploring the Lake Superior country.⁴

As Spring came and the February thaws and March rains loosened the ice bonds that for three long months had locked Detroit from the world, Gladwin at evening must often have stood on the platform within the palisades to look out on the tumultuous river, where the great ice cakes from Lake Ste. Claire, tumbling over each other like marine monsters at play, were hurrying down to the warmer waters of Lake Erie. By day the details of administration kept him busy. The French merchants within the fort grumbled at the increased taxes imposed for the support of a garrison much larger than their own king had maintained; the outlying posts were continually sending for supplies; General Amherst was cautioning against gifts of ammunition and rum to the Indians; and the savages, having bartered their furs for liquor at Niagara, had no means of obtaining the necessaries of life from the traders at Detroit. Some of the French and Indians complained that Gladwin called them dogs, and drove them from his house; and the subsequent career of those persons who made the charges shows that the commandant was an excellent judge of human nature.

⁴ All contemporary accounts agree in speaking of "Sir" Robert Davers; but there was no such person in the baronetage of England. Robert Davers, an elder son of Sir Richard Davers was living at this time; but died before coming into the title. The family has since become extinct.

Confident of the power of England to hold all that she had gained from France, Gladwin had no suspicions that the Indians would foolishly rush to their own destruction by an attack on the British posts. Living behind palisades, and surrounded by a cordon of discontented and intriguing French, Gladwin could have no accurate knowledge of the mischief that for months had been plotted by the Ottawa chief, Pontiac, who had established himself, with his wives, on the narrow Isle a la Pêche (Peach Island), rising above the waters of Lake Ste. Claire and concealed from the view of the fort by the thickly wooded Isle au Cochon. There is no reason to believe that Pontiac had impressed himself upon Gladwin as being in any way distinguished above the other chiefs, and doubtless many of the reports—like those of Rogers—of the Ottawa's striking personality are too highly colored. The fact remains, however, that now, at the age of fifty, Pontiac was in the full vigor of his power over the surrounding tribes, and that, during his connection with the whites, his keen intelligence had absorbed valuable military knowledge. According to his own account, he had saved the French at Detroit from massacre in 1746, when the great chief Mickinac (the Turtle) came with his northern bands "to carry off the head of the French commander and eat his heart and drink his blood." Doubtless, too, he had led the Ottawas at Little Meadows in 1755, when Gladwin for the first time heard the Indian warwhoop. At a great council (April, 1763), held on the banks of the River Ecorses, below Detroit, Pontiac had related to the superstitious Indians a dream wherein the Great Spirit sent his message that they were to cast aside the weapons, the manufactures and the rum of the white men, and with help from above, drive the dogs in red from every post in their country. The superstitious Indians heard with awe the voice from on high, and left the council prepared to obey the summons.

Detroit being the chief point of attack, Pontiac took upon himself the plan for surprising and massacring the garrison. On May 1, forty Ottawas danced the calumet dance before Gladwin's house. This visit was for the purpose of spying out the land. Four days later, M. Gouin, a substantial French settler, brought word that his wife, while visiting the Ottawa camp to buy venison, had seen the Indians filing off the ends of their gun barrels, evidently preparing for some deed of treachery. On the evening of the 6th Gladwin received private information that the next day had been set for the destruction of his garrison. The exact source of this private information is still a matter of doubt. Lieutenant McDougall, who doubtless knew the secret, gives no hint in his report. Mr. C. M. Burton makes the not impossible suggestion that Mademoiselle Cuillerie, whose father and brother unquestionably knew of the conspiracy, put Major Gladwin on his guard, and that James Stirling, who

afterwards became her husband, was well rewarded by the British for the timely warning.⁵ The reward which Stirling received, however, might well have been given because he became the leader of the French citizens when they at last determined to support Gladwin. Carver, who visited Detroit five years after the events to be described, and who published three editions of his "Travels through North America" while Gladwin was still living, relates without contemporary contradiction, a story that Cass accepted with little hesitation and that Parkman clings to in spite of the doubts thrown upon it by investigations he himself made subsequent to the first edition of his "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

The evening of May 7th, according to Carver,⁶ an Indian girl who had been employed by Major Gladwin to make him a pair of moccasins out of curious elk skin, brought her work home. The Major was so pleased with the moccasins that, intending them as a present to a friend, he ordered her to take back the remainder of the skin to make a pair for him. Having been paid and dismissed, the woman loitered at the door. Gladwin was quick enough to see that something was amiss. Being urged to tell her trouble, she said, after much hesitation, that as he had always behaved with much goodness to her, she was unwilling to take away the remainder of the skin, because he put so great a value upon it and she should never be able to bring it back. His curiosity being now excited, he insisted that she disclose the secret that seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance. At last, on receiving a promise that the intelligence she was about to give him should not turn to her prejudice, and that if it appeared to be beneficial she should be rewarded for it, she informed him that at the council to be held with the Indians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him; and, after having massacred the garrison and inhabitants, to plunder the town. Gladwin then dismissed her with injunctions to secrecy and a promise of reward.

A story at once so romantic and so widely accepted deserves tender treatment; but in the Parkman manuscripts this same tale is found in the mouth of one of Roger's soldiers, who, as Cass proves, could not have known the facts. The truth probably has been related by the unknown author of the Pontiac Diary. This writer says that an Ottawa Indian called Mahigan, who had entered but reluctantly into the conspiracy, and who felt displeased with the steps his people were taking, came on Friday night, without the knowledge of the other Indians, to the gate of the Fort and asked to be admitted to the presence of the commander,

⁵ Mr. Barton relies on this passage in a letter from Major Henry Basset to Haldimand, dated at Detroit August 23, 1774, ten years after the siege: "I beg to recommend Mr. James Stirling, who is the first Merchant at this place & a gentleman, of good character, during the late war, through a Lady, that he then courted, from whom he had the best information, was in part the means to save this garrison."—Mich. P. and H. Col. Vol. 19, p. 311.

⁶ Carver is clearly wrong in his date. MacDonald gives May 6, Friday, as the day of the disclosure.

saying that he had something of importance to tell him. The gates having been opened, he was conducted to Captain Campbell, second in command, who sent for Gladwin. They wished to call in the interpreter, Labutte, but the Indian objected, saying that he could make himself understood in French. He unfolded the conspiracy of the Indians, and told how they would fall on the English next day. Having obtained a pledge of secrecy and having refused presents lest the Indians should discover his treachery and kill him, he left the fort secretly. The writer adds that Gladwin made a promise not to disclose the source of his information, and that he kept it.⁷

The crisis had come in the life of the young commandant of his majesty's forces at Detroit. Although he could not then have known the extent of the widespread conspiracy which Pontiac had planned; yet he did know that his steadfastness and his knowledge of Indian warfare were about to be put to the test. Gladwin was a soldier by choice and by training, and the seven years he had spent in England's service on the frontiers had not been without its hard lessons. In 1755 he had landed on the banks of the Potomac as a lieutenant in the ill-fated Braddock expedition. He was one of that band of glittering officers whom the provincial soldier, George Washington, had envied as they congregated in the old Braddock House at Alexandria, whose now bare but stately staircase and broad halls seem still to be peopled by the ghosts of fair ladies and dashing soldier gallants of a century and a quarter ago. In the ambush of Little Meadows he had learned from the brave yet cautious young Virginian that the military science of the old world was out of place in battling with the denizens of the American forests; and in the campaign against Ticonderoga and Niagara this new knowledge had stood him in good stead. Scarcely more than a year previous he had given a hostage to fortune by leading to the altar of the little Wingerwort church in Derbyshire a beautiful girl of nineteen, from whose side military duties in America too quickly recalled him. As the prospective head of an old and honorable county family, yet with little besides his profession of arms to give him support and reputation, Henry Gladwin, at the age of thirty-three, must have realized that the peril which now faced the King's supremacy was for him the door to success or to failure in life, according as he should succeed or fail to hold the post of Detroit against the savages whose hostility and crafty treachery now threatened it. And yet, perhaps the warning of danger to come might be without foundation, as so many other warnings had proved to be. Perhaps the prudent, if fickle, Indians were bent merely on extorting

⁷ The Pontiac Diary was written in French, probably by one of the priests of St. Anne's. It was found in the roof of a Canadian house that was being torn down. Three translations exist: one in manuscript is among the Parkman MSS. in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; another is to be found in Schoolcraft's second volume; and the other in Vol. 8, Michigan Pioneer Collections. The original has been lost through the carelessness of persons connected with the old Michigan Historical Society; and the loss is a serious one.

more presents and a more liberal portion of rum. Perhaps the serene river was a pathway of peace and not of war; perhaps the stillness of the trackless forest was not destined to be broken by the warwhoop and the death cry. If it was to be war he would be found neither unprepared nor wanting in the determination that marks the soldier. In either event, the morrow would tell the story.

About ten o'clock the next morning, as Carver relates, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived, and were conducted to the council chamber, where Gladwin and his principal officers awaited their coming. As the Indians passed on they could not help observing a greater number of troops than usual drawn up on the parade. No sooner had the Indians entered the council chamber and seated themselves on the skins prepared for them, than Pontiac asked the commandant why his young men, meaning the soldiers, were thus drawn up, and parading the streets. "To keep them perfect in their exercise," was the answer.

Then Pontiac began to protest his friendship and good will towards the English; and when he came to deliver the belt of wampum, which, according to the warning, was to be the signal for his chiefs to fire, "the governor and all his attendants drew their swords half-way from their scabbards; and the soldiers at the same instant made a clattering with their arms before the doors, which had been purposely left open. Even Pontiac trembled, and instead of giving the belt in the manner proposed, delivered it according to the usual way. His stolid chiefs, who had expected the signal, continued quiet, awaiting the result."

Gladwin, in his turn, made a speech. Instead of thanking Pontiac for the professions of friendship just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He said that the English, who knew everything, were convinced of Pontiac's treachery and villainous designs. Then, reaching down to the Indian chief seated nearest him, he drew aside his blanket, discovering the shortened firelock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians. Inasmuch as he had given his word at the time they desired an audience that their persons should be safe, Gladwin said he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However, he advised them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut everyone of them to pieces. Pontiac endeavored to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but Gladwin refused to listen, and the Indians sullenly left the fort.

Late that afternoon six warriors returned, bringing with them an old squaw, saying that she had given false information. Gladwin declared that she had never given any kind of advice.⁸ When they insisted that he name the author of what he had heard in regard to a plot, he simply

⁸ Rogers' Journal. Doubtless this is the origin of the romance of the Indian girl.

replied that it was one of themselves, whose name he promised never to reveal. Whereupon, they went off and carried the old woman with them. When they arrived in camp, Pontiac seized the prisoner and gave her three strokes with a stick on the head, which laid her flat on the ground, and the whole nation assembled around her, and called, "Kill her! kill her."

The next day was Sunday, and late in the afternoon Pontiac and several of his chiefs paddled across the placid river to smoke the pipe of peace with the officers of the fort. Gladwin, suspicious of so much protestation, refused to go near them; but Captain Campbell, unwilling to lose a chance to pacify the Indians, smoked the peace-pipe with them outside the fort and took back to Gladwin the message that next day all the nation would come to council, where everything would be settled to the satisfaction of the English, after which the Indians would immediately disperse, so as to remove all suspicion.

At ten o'clock next morning the anxious watchers behind the palisades saw a fleet of canoes coming around the lower point of the long island, and as the swift-darting boats, hurried by paddle and current, covered the three miles of water the soldiers counted fifty-six of these barks, each carrying seven or eight Indians. The bows of the canoes rested lightly on the sand of the sloping bank, and the warriors made their way to the fort only to find the gates fast barred against them. Instead of the cordial welcome they expected, an interpreter met them with the message that not above sixty chiefs might enter. Whereupon Pontiac, enraged at seeing the futility of all his stratagems, and yet confident of ultimate success, in his most peremptory manner bade the interpreter say to Gladwin that if all the Indians had not free access to the fort, none of them would enter it. "Tell him," said the angry chief, "that he may stay in his fort, and that I will keep the country." Then Pontiac strode to his canoe and paddled for the Ottawa village. His followers, knowing that the fight was on, ran like fiends to the house of an English woman and her two sons, whom they tomahawked and scalped. Another party paddled swiftly to Isle au Cochon, where they first killed twenty-four of King George's bullocks, and then put to death an old English sergeant. Afterwards, the Canadians buried the mutilated corpse; but on returning to the spot, so tradition relates, they were surprised to see an arm protruding from the grave. Thrice the dirt was heaped above the body, and thrice the arm raised itself above the ground, until the mound was sprinkled with holy water; then the perturbed spirit left the body in peace never since disturbed. Having put to death all the English outside the fort, the Indians sent to Gladwin a Frenchman to report both the killing of the woman and her children and also the murder of Sir Robert Davers, Captain Robertson and a boat's crew of six

persons,⁹ who had been sent to the St. Clair flats to discover a passage for one of the schooners bound to Michillmackinac. This information removed all lingering doubts that the Indians were determined to wipe out the English at Detroit.

On his return to the Ottawa village, Pontiac ordered the squaws to change the camp to the western bank, above the fort. As the night mists gathered upon the tireless river, dropping a curtain between the great chief and his enemies, Pontiac himself, hideous in war paint, leaped into the center of the ring of braves, and flourishing his tomahawk, began to chant the record of his valorous deeds. One by one the listening braves, catching the contagion from their mighty chief, were drawn into the ring, until at last every savage was wildly dancing the war-dance. There was no sleep for the garrison that night. Gladwin, as he paced the wide street that encircled the buildings of the fort just within the pickets, took council with himself as to how he might withstand his crafty enemies. Burning arrows, silent messengers of destruction, might easily set fire to the four score or more wooden buildings within the enclosure; and the church, standing near the palisades, was particularly exposed, unless, indeed, the superstitious Indians should hearken to their only less superstitious French allies, who had threatened the savages with the vengeance of the Great Spirit if they should attempt to destroy the house of God. The two six-pounders, the three-pounder and the mortars composing the battery of the fort were of little avail against an enemy that fought singly and from behind trees or whatever protection the opportunities might afford; but, on the other hand, an English head above the pickets or an English body at a port hole was the sure lodgment for an Indian bullet. The garrison was made up of one hundred and twenty-two soldiers and eight officers, together with about forty fur-traders and their assistants. These traders would fight to save their lives, but were inclined to the French rather than to the English. Between this little garrison and the thousand savages was a single row of palisades made by planting logs close together so that they would stand twenty-five feet above ground. Blockhouses at the angles and at the gates afforded additional protection; and, best of all, the brimming river, whose little waves lapped the sandy shore near the south line of palisades, gave an abundant water supply. A schooner and a sloop, both armed, might be relied on to keep open the line of communication with Niagara, whence Major Walters would send supplies. Promotion would be the reward of success; the torture-stake the penalty of failure.

The chill that comes before dawn was in the air when Gladwin joined the anxious watchers in the blockhouse. The placid river seemed a

⁹ See Clairmont's testimony. Gladwin MSS.

great mirror reflecting the brighter stars. Gradually the black outlines of low farm houses and encircling woods melted into gray; and then beyond the wooded island a disc of molten gold, pushing itself higher and higher, made of the deep waters a broad pathway of shimmering light. On the low bluff far up the river, Gladwin's anxious eye discovered the lodges of Pontiac's Ottawas, who, under the cover of the night, had paddled around the head of the island and noiselessly established themselves above the line of French farmhouses. This meant a siege; and as the commandant was still gazing at the preparations for war, a pattering of bullets against the blockhouse announced the beginning of hostilities.

During the morning a party of Wyandottes, summoned by Pontiac to a council, stopped at the fort on their way. Fortified by English rum, they went off to the meeting-place under promise to Gladwin that they would do all they could to appease the Ottawas and dissuade them from further hostilities. Next came a number of the French settlers, bringing with them chiefs of the Ottawas, Wyandottes, Chippewas and Potawatamies, who told Gladwin that almost all the French had gathered at the house of the trader M. Cuillerie, where the Indians were to hold their council. They assured Gladwin that if he would allow Captain Campbell¹⁰ and another officer to go to the council, it would not be hard to persuade the Indians to make peace. At any rate, it could do no harm to try; for both the French and the Indians promised to see that the popular old Captain and his companion returned in safety that very night. Gladwin, having little hope of turning Pontiac from his purposes, was reluctant to intrust Captain Campbell to their hands; but the Captain, relying on the friendship that had existed between him and the savages, no less than on the promises of the French, urged to be allowed to go to the council. The deciding influence which brought Gladwin to consent was the absolute necessity of getting into the fort a supply of corn, flour and bear's grease; for the garrison had in store not more than enough for three weeks. So, while Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall went off with high hopes, the prudent commandant, under cover of the darkness, set about gathering provisions from the French settlers across the river.

Scarcely had the embassy of peace crossed the cleared space about the fort than they were met by M. Gouin, who first urged and then begged them not to trust their lives in the hands of the now excited Indians. The appeal was vain. Yet even while the party were making their way along the bank of the river, they were set upon by a crowd of Indians, at whose hands they would have fared ill indeed had not Pontiac himself come to their rescue. On reaching the appointed place of meeting, they found

¹⁰ Cooley and other historians confuse Captain Campbell with Major Campbell, who came later.

the largest room filled with French and Indians. In the center of the group sat M. Cuillerie, arrayed in a hat and coat adorned with gold lace.¹¹ He kept his seat when the two officers entered and remained covered during the conference. When bread was passed, he ate one piece to show the Indians, as he said, that it was not poisoned. Pontiac, addressing himself to M. Cuillerie, craftily said that he looked upon the Frenchman as his father come to life, and as the commandant at Detroit until the arrival of M. Bellestre, the former French commandant. Then Pontiac, turning to the British officers, told them plainly that to secure peace, the English must leave the country under escort and without arms or baggage. Thereupon M. Cuillerie warmly shook Lieutenant McDougall's hand, saying, "My friend, this is my work; rejoice that I have obtained such good terms for you. I thought Pontiac would be much harder." Hoping against hope for the garrison, but apprehensive of no present danger to himself and his brother officer, Captain Campbell made a short but earnest plea for peace. Then he and Lieutenant McDougall waited anxiously for the usual grunt of approval. The moments dragged, and still the Indians sat impassive. For the space of an hour there was unbroken silence. Then Captain Campbell, dejected by evident failure, arose to retrace his steps to the fort. "My father," said Pontiac quietly, "will sleep tonight in the lodges of his red children."

The unusual intelligence that had raised Pontiac above every other Indian chief, had led the English to rely on his sense of honor, a quality rare indeed among savages. What civilized races call treachery is to the Indian legitimate warfare. It never occurs to a savage to expose himself to harm in order to accomplish an end that he can attain safely by deception. In spite of all promises, therefore, the two Englishmen were sent under strong guard to the house of M. Meloche. That they were not immediately put to death was due solely to the fact that Gladwin held several Pottawattamie prisoners, and Pontiac shrewdly enough feared that if the commandant should retaliate on his hostages, that tribe would vanish into the forest, leaving him without the support he so much needed.

Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall trusted to the promises of the French more than to those of the Indians. It has been assumed that the French at Detroit were the victims of the Pontiac conspiracy only to a less degree than were the English. It is true that there were a few prudent French farmers who gave to Gladwin what assistance they could give without drawing down on themselves the enmity of the Indians; but it was generally believed among the French that the English would soon be driven out of New France, and that the French king would again be their monarch. For two centuries the warfare between

¹¹ Gladwin MSS.

French and English over the fur trade had been as barbarous as war was in Europe during the same time; human life on either side of the Atlantic was not considered worth a King's serious consideration; and the soldier of that day in every nation was a freebooter. It is not surprising that the French traders and wood-rangers at Detroit should have seized upon Pontiac's war to despoil their ancient enemies and their conquerors of less than three years' standing. The only cause for surprise is that the French did not from the start openly make common cause with Pontiac. That they secretly gave aid and encouragement to the Indians was repeatedly charged by Gladwin. The convincing proof of his assertions is to be found in the official reports of inquiries he caused to be held at Detroit during the siege, reports which after more than a century and a quarter of oblivion, have been found and made available by one of Gladwin's descendants. The problem for Gladwin was to hold out at Detroit until both the French and Indians could be convinced that the French government could not assist them and that the peace with England was definite and lasting.

The terms proposed to Captain Campbell were offered next day to Gladwin, and the French urged him to escape while he might; but the young Englishman absolutely refused to make any terms with savages. His soldiers caught his spirit, so that he was able to write confidently to General Amherst, that he would hold out until succor should come. The schooner *Gladwin*, which bore the dispatch, eluded Pontiac's canoes; and when the chief reported his failure to M. Cuillerie, the Frenchman jeered at him because five canoes withdrew at the death of a single Potawattamie.¹²

Now began a long series of disasters to the English. One by one the results of Pontiac's plotting transpired. Everything seemed to be giving way before the exulting savages. On May 22 news came of the capture of Fort Sandusky.¹³ At the inquiry Ensign Paully testified that on May 17 his sentry called him to speak with some Indians at the gate. Finding some of his own Indians in the party, he allowed seven to enter the fort and gave them tobacco. Soon one of the seven raised his head as a signal, whereupon the two sitting next the officer seized and bound him and hurried him from the room. He passed his sentry dead in the gateway and saw the corpses of his little garrison lying about. His sergeant was killed in the garden where he had been planting; the merchants were dead and their stores were plundered. The Indians spared Paully and took him to their camp at Detroit, where he was adopted as the husband of a widowed squaw, from whose toils he finally escaped to his friends in the fort. On May 18, Ensign Holmes, who commanded the garrison of the Miamis, was told by a Frenchman that Detroit had been

¹² Gladwin MSS.

attacked, whereupon the ensign called in his men and set them at work making cartridges. Three days later Holmes' Indian servant besought him to bleed one of her friends who lay ill in a cabin outside the stockade. On his errand of mercy he was shot dead. The terrified garrison of nine were only too glad to surrender at the command of two Frenchmen, Pontiac's messengers, who were on their way to the Illinois to get a commandant for Detroit. On May 25, at Fort St. Joseph, seventeen Pottawattamies came into Lieutenant Schlosser's room on the pretense of holding a council. A Frenchman who had heard that treachery was planned, rushed in to give the alarm, whereupon Lieutenant Schlosser was seized, ten of the garrison were killed, and the other three with the commandant were made prisoners. They were afterwards brought to Detroit and exchanged.

On the 29th the long expected bateaux from Niagara were seen coming up the river. With joyful hearts the garrison looked forward to the end of their tedious siege. But as the boats came nearer, the English saw with dismay that Indians were the masters of the craft. When the foremost bateaux came opposite the schooner, two soldiers in her made the motion to change rowing places. Quickly they seized the Indians and threw them overboard. One Indian carried his assailant with him and in the struggle both found death. Another soldier struck the remaining Indian over the head with an oar and killed him. Under the fire of sixty savages on the shore the three plucky Englishmen escaped to the vessel with their prize, which contained eight barrels of most acceptable pork and flour. Of the ten bateaux that had set out from Niagara under Lieutenant Cuyler, eight had been captured and the force had been completely routed by an Indian surprise and night attack. Following the capture of the bateaux came the darkest days of the siege. Often during a whole day, the Indians, drunken on the rum from the captured stores, did not fire a shot, but in their fiendish glee they gave notice of their presence by sending the scalped and mangled bodies of English captives to float past the palisades in sight of the sentries.

To add to these tales of disaster came Father La Jaunay, missionary at Michilimackinac (Old Mackinac) to tell the bloodiest story of all. On June 2, the Chippewas living near the fort assembled for their usual game of ball. They played from morning till noon and Captain George Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie stood by to watch the sport. Suddenly the ball was struck over the palisades. A dozen Indians rushed through the gate to get it. Before the dazed sentry could recover, the Captain and Lieutenant were seized and hurried off; the Indians within the fort had received from the squaws stationed there hatchets hidden under their blankets; in an instant Lieutenant Jamet, fifteen soldiers and a trader named Tracy were put to death, five others were reserved for a

like fate, and the remainder of the garrison were made prisoners. Had it not been for the powerful influence of Charles Langlade¹³ and his friends the Ottawas, all the English must have perished; as it was Captain Etherington, Lieutenant Leslie, with fourteen men, were held until July 18, and were then taken to Montreal by the Ottawas.

On Sunday, the 26th of June, Pontiac, for mingled purposes of religion and business, paddled across the green river to attend mass in the little French chapel. When the services were over, the chief selected three of the chairs in which the thrifty French had been carried to church, and making the owners his chairmen, he and his guard set off on a search for provisions. He imitated the credit certificates issued by Gladwin and gave in payment for cattle billets signed by his mark, the picture of a coon. The provisions were transported to Pontiac's camp near Parent's Creek, and in due time the billets were redeemed. The next day Pontiac sent another summons to surrender, saying that nine hundred Indians were on their way from Michilimackinac, and if Gladwin waited till those Indians came he would not be answerable for the consequences. Gladwin replied that until Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall were returned, Pontiac might save himself the trouble of sending messages to the fort. To this the wily Pontiac made answer that he had too much regard for his distinguished captives to send them back; because the kettle was on the fire for the entire garrison, and in case they were returned he should have to boil them with the rest.

On the 30th of June, the *Gladwin*, returning from Niagara, plowed her way up the white-capped river and landed a force of fifty men, together with provisions and some much needed ammunition. For two months Gladwin had guarded Detroit against surprise and had sustained a siege conducted by Pontiac in person, while fort after fort had fallen before the savages. As the Indians returned from their successes elsewhere they were more and more eager for the overthrow of the one fort that hitherto had baffled all their efforts. In his extremity Pontiac now turned on the French and threatened to force them to take up arms against the English. During the siege, however, copies of the definitive treaty between France and England had reached Detroit; and, on July 4, Gladwin assen bled the French, read to them the articles of peace, and sent a copy across the river to the priest. Thereupon, forty Frenchmen, choosing James Stirling as their leader, took service under Gladwin. On this same day a party from the fort made a sortie for the purpose of bringing in some powder and lead from the house of M. Baby, who had taken refuge in the fort. Lieutenant Hay, an old Indian fighter, commanded the force, and in his exultation over driving off an attacking

¹³ Charles Langlade was born at Mackinac. He urged upon the French commandant at Fort Duquesne the necessity of surprising Braddock's forces in 1755, and himself led the Indians in that surprise. Doubtless Pontiac then fought with him.

party, he tore the scalp from the head of a wounded Indian and shook his trophy in the face of his enemies. It happened that the one of the savages killed was the son of a Chippewa chief; and as soon as the tribe heard of their disaster they went to Pontiac to reproach him for being the cause of their ills, saying that he was very brave in taking a loaf of bread or a beef from a Frenchman who made no resistance, but it was the Chippewas who had all the men killed and wounded every day. Therefore, they said, they intended to take from him what he had been saving. Lieutenant McDougall had already made his escape to the fort; but they went to Meloche's house, where the brave old Captain Campbell was still confined. They stripped him, carried him to their camp, killed him, took out his heart and ate it, cut off his head, and divided his body into small pieces. Such was the end of a brave soldier, esteemed, loved and sincerely mourned in the army from General Amherst and Colonel Bouquet down to the privates who served under him.

At midnight on July 10 the sentries in the fort saw floating down the black river a great mass of fire. The flames, feeding on faggots and birch-bark, leaped high in the air, lighting up the forest-covered island in the background and bringing into high relief the whitewashed cottages that lined the shore. Hurried by the swift current, a great fire raft, built by the French and Indians, made for the two vessels anchored in the stream; but the alert crews had anticipated their danger and were prepared for it. The vessels were anchored by two cables, and as the flaming pile approached, they slipped one cable and easily swung out of the way of the enemy.

The hot days succeeded each other all too slowly; but on the 29th of July the guards heard firing down the river, and half an hour later the surprised sentries saw the broad surface of the river dotted with bateaux, the regular dip of whose oars was borne a long way on the still morning air. A detachment of two hundred and sixty men under the command of Captain Dalzell, one of General Amherst's aides-de-camp, had come to put an end to the siege. Captain Dalzell was an officer of undoubted bravery, and the tales of slaughter he had heard at Presque Isle and Sandusky on his way to Detroit made him anxious to crush Pontiac by one bold stroke. Gladwin, whom months of close acquaintance with the wary Indian chief had taught discretion, gave consent to Dalzell's plan of a night attack, only on the threat of the latter to leave Detroit unless such a blow should be struck.¹⁴ The treacherous French, learning the details of the plan, immediately put Pontiac on his guard. In the earliest hours of the 31st of July, Dalzell marched a force of two hundred and

¹⁴ Gladwin and McDougall agree that the night attack was strenuously opposed by the former. There is a tradition (Fred. Carlisle relates it as a fact, in his report to the Wayne County Historical Society for 1890), that Dalzell and Gladwin both sought the hand of Madeleine de Tonnancour, and that when she favored the aide-de-camp, Gladwin willingly sent him to his death. Inasmuch as Gladwin was happily married during the previous year, this story is simply another illustration of the fables that have gained currency in connection with the Pontiac conspiracy.

fifty men along the sandy bank of the swift flowing river, passed the well enclosed cottages of the French and on towards a little stream that fell into the river about a mile and a half above the fort.

The twenty-five men in advance had just stepped on the rude bridge across the run, when from the ridges that formed the further side of the gully came a volley of musketry that hurled the little band in confusion back on the main body. In the pitchy darkness, cheered on by Dalzell's steady words of command, the British swept the ridges only to find themselves chasing those deadly will-o'-the-wisps, the flashes of an enemy's guns. To fall back was absolutely necessary; but here again the soldiers were met by the rapid firing of the Indians who had occupied the houses and orchards between the English and the fort. Every charge of the soldiers only enveloped the pursuers in a maze of buildings, trees and fences, while the Indians beat a nimble retreat, firing from behind any shelter they could find. From an open cellar, the concealed savages poured a deadly fire into the British ranks; but still Dalzell was undismayed. Where commands were of no effect, he beat the men with the flat of his sword. Major Robert Rogers, trained in Indian warfare, burst open the door of a cottage filled with Indians, and with his Rangers put the ambushed savages to flight. Captain Gray fell mortally wounded in a charge. Dalzell himself, twice wounded, went to the succor of a helpless sergeant, when he too fell dead, and the Indians smeared their faces with his heart's blood. Major Rogers, who succeeded to the command, took possession of the well built Campau house, where his soldiers, fortified without by solid logs and bales of furs, and strengthened within by copious draughts from a keg of whisky, held the enemy at bay until communication could be had with the fort. Two bateaux armed with swivels soon came to the rescue of Rogers, who had been besieged by about two hundred Indians. The remainder of the force under Captain Grant beat an orderly retreat. Of the two hundred and fifty who went out, one hundred and fifty-nine were killed or wounded, while the Indian loss did not exceed twenty.

This victory of Bloody Run, as the creek was ever afterward called, restored the waning fortunes of Pontiac, and every day brought accessions to his forces. Yet never since the siege began was Major Gladwin more hopeful of ultimate success. So the heats of August passed with an occasional skirmish, and September began. The Indians, powerless against the palisades, again turned their attention to the vessels that kept open the food communication with the settlers across the river and made occasional trips to Fort Niagara for supplies and ammunition. From one of these latter voyages the schooner *Gladwin* was returning on the night of September 4, when, the wind failing, she anchored nine miles below the fort, having on board her commander, Horst, her mate, Jacobs, and

a crew of ten men. Six Iroquois, supposed to be friendly to the English, had been landed that morning, and to their brethren was probably due the night attack made by a large force of Indians, whose light canoes dropped so silently down the dark river that a single cannon shot and one volley of musketry was all the welcome that could be given them. Horst fell in the first onslaught, and Jacobs, seeing that all hope was gone, gave the command to blow up the vessel. At the word some Wyandottes, who knew the meaning of the command, gave warning to their companions, and all made a dash overboard, swimming for dear life to be clear of the dreaded destruction. Jacobs, no less astonished than gratified at the effect of his words, had no further trouble that night, and the next morning he sailed away to the fort. Six of the sailors escaped unhurt to wear the medals presented to them for bravery.¹⁵

From the beginning of the siege Pontiac had relied on help from the French in the Illinois country, to whom he had sent an appeal for aid. "Since Father Bellestre departed," he said, "the Indians had no news, nor did any letters come to the French, but the English alone received letters. The English say incessantly that since the French and Spaniards have been overthrown, they own all the country. When our father, M. Bellestre, was going off from hence, he told us, 'My children the English today overthrow your father; as long as they have the upper hand ye will not have what ye stand in need of; but this will not last.' We pray our father at the Illinois to take pity on us and say, 'These poor children are willing to raise me up.' Why do we that which we are doing today? It is because we are unwilling that the English should possess these lands; this is what causeth thy children to rise up and strike everywhere."

This message was endorsed by the Chippewas and by the French inhabitants at Detroit, the latter complaining that they were obliged to submit to Indian exactions. M. Neyons, the French commandant in the Illinois country, acting under pressure from General Amherst (who had learned from Gladwin how essential to Pontiac's success was the expected help from the French) replied to the appeal that "the great day had come at last wherein it had pleased the Master of Life to command the great Great King of France and him of England to make peace between them, sorry to see the blood of men spilled so long." So these kings had ordered all their chiefs and warriors to bury the hatchet. He promised that when this was done the Indians would see the road free, the lakes and rivers unstopped and ammunition and merchandise would abound in their villages; their women and children would be cloaked; they would go to dances and festivals, not cumbered with heavy clothes, with skirts, blankets and ribbands. "Forget then, my dear

¹⁵ Chapman Abraham's testimony.—Gladwin MSS.

children," he commanded,¹⁶ "all evil talks. Leave off from spilling the blood of your brethren, the English. Our hearts are now but one; you cannot, at present, strike the one without having the other for an enemy also."

This message had the desired effect. Dated on September 27, its contents so dashed Pontiac's hopes that on October 12 he sued most submissively for peace. Gladwin, being in need of flour, granted a truce, but made no promises, saying that General Amherst alone had power to grant pardon. To Amherst the commandant wrote that it would be good policy to leave matters open until the spring, when the Indians would be so reduced for want of powder there would be no danger that they would break out again, "provided some examples are made of our good friends, the French, who set them on." Gladwin then adds, "No advantage can be gained by prosecuting the war, owing to the difficulty of catching them (the Indians). Add to this the expense of such a war which, if continued, the ruin of our entire peltry trade must follow and the loss of a prodigious consumption of our merchandise. It will be the means of their retiring, which will reinforce other nations on the Mississippi, whom they will push against us, and make them our enemies forever. Consequently it will render it extremely difficult to pass that country, and especially as the French have promised to supply them with everything they want."

Then follows the passage¹⁷ often quoted to show Gladwin's cynical brutality: "They have lost between eighty and ninety of their best warriors; but if your excellency still intends to punish them for their barbarities, it may be easier done, without any expense to the crown, by permitting a free sale of rum, which will destroy them more effectually than fire and sword." Parkman closes the quotation at this point; but a very different turn is given to the matter in the next sentence, taken from the draft of the letter in Gladwin's own handwriting, as follows: "But on the contrary, if you intend to accommodate matters in spring, which I hope you will for the above reasons, it may be necessary to send up Sir William Johnson." This is the letter of a warrior, who was also somewhat of a statesman.

Pontiac's conspiracy ended in failure. For five months the little garrison at Detroit had been surrounded by a thousand or more savages; and nothing but the untiring watchfulness and the intrepid coolness of the resourceful commandant saved the post from annihilation and prevented the Indian occupation of the lake country. General Amherst was so well pleased with Gladwin's course during the first four months of the siege that on September 17, he wrote to the Secretary at War, Ellis: "As

¹⁶ Gladwin MSS.

¹⁷ Gladwin MSS. This letter is in Gladwin's own handwriting, and is doubtless his original draft.

there have been two deputy adjutants general serving here, I have taken the liberty to show a mark of my entire satisfaction of Major Gladwin's good conduct and commendable behavior in appointing him a deputy adjutant general; but to remain with the troops at Detroit in the same manner as has been ordered. This is no more than a name, but should it be your gracious pleasure to approve it, and honor Major Gladwin with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, I am firmly of the opinion that the promotion of so deserving an officer must at any time be a benefit to his majesty's service, and this is the sole view I have in mentioning it to you." General Amherst's recommendations were followed, and Gladwin held the rank of lieutenant colonel until he was made a colonel in 1777.

It fell to the lot of Colonel Bradstreet, the hero of Fort Frontenac, to lead the great force which was to confirm the British power in the lake country. The vain glory of that officer led him to make with the Indians a peace which General Gates, who had succeeded Amherst, was compelled to repudiate. Bradstreet's expedition got no further than Sandusky, but a detachment reached Detroit late in the August of 1764, and on the last day of that month Colonel Gladwin departed from Niagara on his way to New York. He was heartily tired of fighting Indians, and preferred to resign rather than to undertake another campaign of that kind. Returning to England, we find him in 1774 living a contented life with his wife and two children; but ready again to take up arms for his king. On a visit to London he was presented to George III, who asked him how long he had been in town. "Three weeks," replied the soldier, to the consternation of George Wert, who whispered to him to say that he had just arrived. "But," says Gladwin, in a letter to General Gage, "as I went to court only on that occasion, I thought there could be no harm in speaking the truth."

In April, 1769, Pontiac went to St. Louis. One day he arrayed himself in the uniform of a French officer, given him years before by the Marquis de Montcalm. After visiting his old friends, he repaired to the village of Cahokia, across the Mississippi, where he joined in the feast given by the Illinois Indians. In the early morning he left the town for the forest, singing as he went. An English trader, Wilkinson by name, awaiting the opportunity and thinking to rid his country of a dangerous enemy, promised an Illinois Indian a barrel of rum to murder the famous chief. This treachery on the part of one of their number, cost the Illinois dear, for Pontiac's friends did not cease till they had practically wiped out the Illinois nation. The body of the chief was buried with military honors near the fort at St. Louis. "Neither mound nor tablet," says Parkman, "marked the burial place of Pontiac. For a mausoleum a city has risen above the forest hero; and the race whom he hated with such burning rancor trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave."

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS, DECLARATIONS, ETC.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM CAPT. GEORGE ETHERINGTON, COMMANDANT OF MICHILIMACK'NAC, DATED MICHILIMAUKIMAKIMAC, JUNE 12, 1763.

Sir: Notwithstanding what I wrote you in my last, that all the savages were arrived, & that everything seemed in perfect tranquillity; yet on the second instant the Ch'upewas who live in a plain near this fort, assembled to play ball, as they had done almost every day since their arrival; They play'd from morning till noon, then throwing their ball close to the gate, and observing Lieut. Leslie and me a few paces out of it, they came behind us, seized, and carried us into the woods. In the meantime the rest rushed into the fort, where they found their squaws, whom they had previously planted there, with their hatchets hid under their blankets, which they took and in an instant killed Lieut. Gamet and fifteen rank and file, and a trader named Tracy; they wounded two and took the rest of the garrison prisoners, five of which they have since killed.

They made prisoners of all the English traders, and robb'd them of everything they had; but offered no violence to any of the persons and properties of the Frenchmen.

When this massacre was over Messrs. Langlad and Farti, the interpreter came down to the place where Lieut. Leslie and me were prisoners, and on their giving themselves as security to return us when demanded, they obtained leave for us to go to the fort under a guard of savages, which gave time by the assistance of the above mentioned gentlemen to send for the Oatawas, who came down on the first notice and were very much displeased at what the Chippewas had done.

Since the arrival of the Oatawas they have done everything in their power to serve us, and with what prisoners the Chippewas have given them and what they have bought, I have now with me Lieut. Leslie and eleven privates, & the other four of the garrison who are yet living remain in the hands of the Chippewas.

The Chipewas, who are superior in numbers to the Outawas, have declared in council to them that if they do not remove us out of the fort, that they will cutt off all communication to this post; by which means all the convoys of merchants from Montreal, Labay, St. Joseph & the upper posts would perish; but if the news of your posts being attack'd (which they say was the reason they took up the hatchet here) be false, and you can send up a strong reinforcement with provisions, etc., accompany'd by some of your savages, I believe the post might be re-established again. Since this affair happened, two cannoes arrived from Montreal which put

it in my power to make a present to the Outawa nation, who very well deserve anything that can be done for them.

I have been very much obliged to Messrs. Langlad and Farti, the interpreter, as likewise the Jesuit for the many good offices they have done us on this occasion; the priest seems inclinable to go down to your post for a day or two, which I am very glad of, as he is a very good man and has a great deal to say with the savages hereabout, who will believe everything he tells them on his return, which I hope will be soon.

The Outawas say they will take Lieut. Leslie, me and the eleven men which I mentioned before was in their hands, up to their village & there keep us till they hear what is done at your post, they having sent this canoe for that purpose. I refer you to the priest for the particulars of this melancholy affair, and am,

Dear Sir, Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) GEO. ETHERINGTON.

To Major Henry Gladwin, Commandant of Detroit.

P. S.—The Indians that are to carry the priest to Detroit, will not undertake to land him at the fort, but at some of the Indian villages near it, so that you must not take it amiss that he does not pay you the first visit, and I once more beg that nothing may stop your sending him back the next day after his arrival, if possible, as we shall be at a great loss for the want of him, and I make no doubt that you will do all in your power to make peace, as you see the situation we are in, and send up provisions as soon as possible and ammunition, as what we had was plundered by the savages. Adieu. G. E.

EXTRACT OF A DECLARATION MADE TO CÆSAR CORMICK AND THE THEREIN NAMED WITNESSES, AT DETROIT, 11 JUNE, 1761.

We undermentioned James Sterling, merchant, and Samson Fleming, deputy commissary of this place, being call'd by Caesar Cormick, also merchant here, Do Certify to have heard the intelligence of a person whom we contrast, as being well informed by said person hitherto, of all the conspiracies made against His Brittanick Majesty's subjects since they came to Detroit to the satisfaction of the commanding officer particularly since the present siege. The said person has declared before us, that Miny Chain, Jacque Godfrey, & Messrs. Beauban, Chavin and Labadee went from here the 12th or 13th ultimo, being the third or fourth day of the siege, publicly as they pretended for an officer from the Illinois to disperse the Nations, and in this way they met John Welch, Merchant from Miamis in the Mouth of the Miamis River with two Pettiaugus loaded with peltry bound for this Place: The said five Frenchmen ordered a band of Indians who were with them to hide themselves in the wood close by, untill they would entice the English ashore; then hailing

them to come and smoke a pipe and get the news, they came ashore and sat down; the said Frenchmen then seized and told them they were their prisoners and calling up the Indians they divided the prisoners and peltry betwixt them, then the said Chain & Godfrey detached the other three companions back to Detroit, with their share of the booty, & Mr. Welch prisoner; who came and lodged the same in the House of the abovesaid Miny Chain next in the settlement to the Potawatamis Village, that the Outawas Claiming Mr. Welch seized, and murdered him since; and that the said Outawas came this day seized and carried off the said peltry, and told them that the French had no business with any plunder, but that it belonged entirely to the Indians. The said Informer likewise declared that the said Chain and Godfrey took also four of the said Prisoners along with them, saying that they would take them to the Illinois and make soup of them to spirit up the Indians to War and come against the English, which they now daily expect here. And that the said Chain and Godfrey proceeding with the same Indians to Miamis, with whom they acted in conjunction to destroy that garrison: Then parted for Ouitanon intending to act the same barbarous part there; being in their way to Illinois.

We then questioned the said Informer if we could depend upon the abovesaid intelligence, or from whence they were derived. Answered, that Niniway a Potawatamis Chief sent for Isedore Chain brother to the said Miny Chain the Evening that he the said Niniway arrived with Ensign Schlosser Commanding Officer of St. Josephs and acquainted him of what his brother Miny had done at Miamis; that the said Isedore in tears replied that he wished to God his Brother might die in that Place, for as soon as he arrived at Detroit he would be hanged. And that the said Informer declares to have been present when all this was told by the said Niniway in the house of the abovesaid Miny Chain.

Signed, CESAR CORMICK.

Witnesses,

JAMES STERLING,
SAMUEL FLEMING.

EXTRACTED OUT OF A LETTER FROM LIEUT. EDWARD JENKINS, COMMANDING AT OUIATONON TO MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN, COMMANDANT OF DETROIT, DATE FORT OUIATONON, 29 JULY, 1798.

Sir: Two days ago the Bearer arrived from the Illinois, who assures me that the People in that part of the World are for a quiet life, I mean the French; but he says the Indians wanted the Commanding officer to come and attack these Posts, which he refused. The English woman that is along with him, told me that the Canadians were advising the Indians to Murder us all in these Posts, but that they would not be seen

In it themselves; but I shall say no more of it, as the woman will acquaint you all she knows about it; She says she heard the bearer talk of; indeed I would have examined him, but the woman was afraid, as she was to go farther with him, & you are in a much better place for it than I.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LIEUT. EDWARD JENKINS, COMMANDING AT OUIATINON DATED 25 MARCH, 1783, TO MAJOR HENRY GALDWIN, COMMANDING AT DETROIT.

Sir: The bearer arrived from the Post last Sunday, with two more Deserters and his wife. They have not heard yet below of the cessation of Arms, and I am acquainted by Monsieur La Bond that we have attacked, or at least blocked up some Place near the Mississippi; indeed I don't well understand him as he has an odd way of talking, but Capt. Campble will understand him better. Mr. Crawford acquainted me this morning that the Canadians that are here are eternally telling *lies* to the Indians, and tells me likewise that the Interpreter and one La Pointe told the Indians a few days ago that we should all be Prisoners in a short time (showing them when the corn was about a foot high) that there was a great Army to come from the Mississippi; & that they were to have a great number of Indians with them, therefor advised them not to help us; That they would soon take Detroit and these small Posts, and that then they would take Quebec, Montreal & Ca. and go into our country. This I am informed they tell them from one end of the year to the other, with a great deal more that I cannot remember. I am convinced that while they are permitted to trade here that the Indians here never will be in our Interest, for although our Merchants sells them a stroud for three Beaver, they will rather give six to a French man. It is needless inquiring into the affair as the French have so much influence over them, that they will deny what they said, for the other day I had the Express before me for saying we should all be fighting by and by; but could make nothing of it as the Indians were afraid to own it before him, altho the Indians that heard them talk of it stood to it. I am,

Yours, &c.,

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM RICHARD WINSTON, MERCHANT AT ST. JOSEPH'S, TO THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS AT DETROIT. DATED ST. JOSEPH, 19 JUNE, 1783.

Gentlemen: I address myself to you all, not knowing who is alive or who is dead, I have only to inform you that by the Blessing of the Almighty, & the help of Mr. Louison Chevalie I escaped being killed when this unfortunate Garrison was massacred. Mr. Hamback and me being hid in the House of the said Chevalie for four days and nights; Mr. Hamback is brought by the Savages to the Illinois, likewise Mr. Chin, unfortunate me remains here Captive with the Savages. I must say that

I meet with no bad usage, however I would that I was with some Christian or other, I am quite naked, & Mr. Castacrew who is indebted to Mr. Cole, would not give me an inch to save me from Death, who the day before the massacre here to pay me part of said Debt, but since that denyd in the presnee of Mr. Chevalle, that he owed me anything, untill I produced his note, he then said his note was no order to pay any part of said debt to me, I am informed that Castacrew has information that Mr. Cole was killed on his way from Niagara; I have nothing to say concerning our enemy here but that they recommend to the savages at Detroit to quiet their firing upon the Fort at Detroit, that as the Six Nations began the War they might persist in it. We are informed that at Miamis Mr. Holmes and part of his Garrison were killed, the other part carried down the Wabash to joyn the Garrison of Ouitinon and carried all to the Illinois; At Ouitinon there was not one killed but all taken Prisoners. I am, &c.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM EDMOND MORAN, MERCHANT AT FORT EDWARD AUGUSTUS, TO MR. JOSEPH SPEAR AND COMPANY, MERCHANTS, AT DETROIT, DATED 16 MAY, 1763.

Sir: The Indians would do very well here but for the Canadians; They spirit them up to everything thats bad against the English. I am sure that it will never be worth any English Traders while to follow this Trade unless the French are prohibited to come here.

Yrs, &c.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LIEUT. EDWARD JENKINS TO MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN COMMANDING AT DETROIT, DATED OUITINON, 1 JUNE, 1763.

Sir: I have heard of your situation which gives me much pain, indeed we are not a great deal better, for this morning the Indians sent for me to speak with me, & immediately bound me when I got to their cabbins, & I soon found some of my soldiers in the same situation. They told me Detroit, Miamis and all these Posts were cutt off, and that it was a folly to make any resistance, therefor desired me to make the few soldiers I had in the Fort surrender, otherwise they would put all of us to death in case one man of theirs was killed. They were to have fallen on us and killed us all last Night, but Monsieurs Maisenville & Lorrain, gave them Wampum not to kill us all, and when they told the Interpreter we were all to be killed & he knowing the Canadians of the Fort begged of them to make us Prisoners. They have put us into the French houses and both Indians and French use us very well. All these Nations say they are very sorry, that they were obliged to do it by the other Nations. The belt did not arrive here till last night about Eight o'clock; Mr. Lorrain can inform you of all. Just now received the news of St. Joseph's being taken,

eleven were killed and three taken Prisoners with the officer; I have nothing more to say but that I sincerely wish you a speedy succour, & that we may be able to revenge ourselves on them that deserve it. I remain with my sincerest wishes for your safety, &c., N. B. We expect to set off in a day or two for the Illinois.

EXTRACT OF A COURT OF ENQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN TO ENQUIRE INTO THE MANNER OF THE TAKING OF THE FORTS ST. DUSKY, ST. JOSEPHS, MIAMIS AND PRESQU'ISLE, DETROIT, 6 JULY, 1763.

Captain Hopkins, President.

Lieut. Hay, 60th Regiment, Ensign Perry of the Queen's Rangers, Members.

Ensign Pawlee who commanded at Fort Sanduskey informs the Court that on the sixteenth of May he was informed by his Sentry at the Gate, that there were Indians come who wanted to speak to him, upon which he went to see who they were, and finding them to be some of his own Indians who received him very friendly, he permitted seven of them to come in and gave them a little tobaccoe to smook; in a short time after one of them raised up his head; which he supposes was a signal, upon which the two that sat next him seized and tied him, without saying a word and carried him out of his Room; where he found his sentry Dead in the Gateway with the rest of the Garrison one here and there all massacred, and the Fort surrounded by Indians; His Sergeant who had been planting something in his garden was killed there; who notwithstanding he had given repeated orders that in case any Indians came to the Fort, every man should immediately come in; The Merchants were all killed and everything they had plundered; from whence he was brought to the Indian Camp at this place, where he remained prisoner untill the third instant, when he made his escape into the Fort. The Indians that he permitted to come in were four Hurons, and three Outawas who live near the Fort. Ensign Schlosser who commanded at Fort St. Josephs informs the Court that on the 25th day of May between 9 & 10 in the morning, he was acquainted that there was a party of Detroit Putawatamis arrived to see their relations there, and who intended to come and wish him a good morning, a few minutes after a Frenchman came and told him that there was some Indians come with an ill design, upon which he run to the Barracks to get the soldiers under Arms, and upon entering found them full of Indians, upon which he ordered his Sergeant to use all his endeavors to get under arms; while he assembled the French and immediately went to speak to them, who were already assembled at his room, and in two or three minutes after he was entered he heard a cry in the Barracks, upon which those Indians that were in the room with him secured him, & those that were without seized the sentry at the Gate, and rushed

in, in such numbers that they massacred all the Garrison except three in about two minutes & plundered the Fort. . . . James Beems, Soldier in the 60th Regiment who was one of the Garrison of Miami informs the Court that about the 23d May a Frenchman arrived there who informed Ensign Holmes who commanded, that when he left the mouth of the River below Detroit he heard the firing of cannon, which made him believe this Fort was attacked, that Mr. Holmes then ordered the men of the Garrison to remain within the Fort and sett them to make cartridges, that the 27th in the morning a squaw that lived with Mr. Holmes came into the Fort & told him that there was another squaw in a Cabbin about three hundred yards from the Fort that was very ill, and wanted him to bleed her upon which he went out with her and in a short time after they heard two shot fired, upon which the Sergeant went out to see what was the matter, and upon his coming up to two or three Indians that was in sight of the Fort, they took him prisoner, having killed Mr. Holmes before, upon which the men in the Fort shut the Gates, and got upon the pickets to look out, when they saw one Welch who had been taken prisoner some days before, & two Frenchmen, who by evident description must be one Godfrey and Miny Chain that went from this to the Illinois for Pontiac (as the Indians said) for a Commandant for the Place, who called to them to give up the Fort, otherwise they would all be put to Death, but if they would resign their lives should be all saved, upon which the men consulted amongst themselves & thought it best to give it up upon the conditions, as there was but nine of them in the Fort, the three others the remainder of the Garrison having been taken two days before as they were afterwards informed. . . . Lieut. Cayler informs the Court that on the 20th of June at about 10 in the morning, he was on board the schooner Huron opposite to Presqu-isle on his return from Niagara to Detroit which place he imagined to be attacked as he saw two swivels fired one after another, that soon after the Schooner came too in the Bay they saw ten Canons & heard a smart firing upon the Fort, which continued till the 21st when he saw the officers house that stood near the Blockhouse on fire which burn'd to the ground without doing any further damage. The firing commenced again and continued till the 22d between twelve and one when he saw the Blockhouse on fire. That he was not able to give them any assistance having nothing but a small Boat to land men in which would not carry above ten at a time, and being two miles from the shore. Since which the officer and Prisoners were brought to the Indian Camp at this Place.

JOS. HOPKINS.

EXTRACT OF A COURT OF ENQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR GLADWIN TO ENQUIRE
INTO THE MANNER OF THE TAKING OF PRESQU-ISLE, DETROIT, JULY 10, 1763.

Cap. Hopkins, President.

Lieut. Geo. McDougall Ensign Jos. I. Schlosser of 60th Regiment Members.

Ensign John Christie who commanded at Presqu'isle informs the Court that on the 20 June at daybreak in the morning he found that Fort surrounded by about 200 Indians part of four nations; at a quarter of an hour after they began firing upon the Blockhouse and continued all that day pretty smart; they likewise shot fire-arrows into the roof of the Blockhouse by the enemy which set it several times on fire. The Blockhouse was situated on a rising ground, & could be approached at a little distance by two Hills, one ascending from the Lake Eastward, the other ascending from the bottom or Creek Northward from these two places the Indians kept their fire, having made holes in the earth at night to secure themselves, notwithstanding which, two or three of them endeavoring to get into the trench were killed, which made them abate their fire for some hours, at which time they were employed digging a passage through the Earth to get at the body of the House: The 21st they commenced firing as hot as ever with fuses and arrows, which set the house again in flames in several places; the same Day the Barrels of Water he had provided for such emergencies was spent in extinguishing the aforesaid fires, and finding it impossible to get at the Well that was sunk in the parade, was therefor obliged to sink one in the House by very hard labour, while he was digging the well the House was set again on fire, but got it extinguished by driving down the shingles from the roof: At same time they had approached through the Earth as far as the Commanding Officer's room on the Parade, they set it on fire and communicated it to the Fasines around the Fort; he continued firing 'till midnight, when one of them who spoke French called up to him that it was in vain for him to pretend to hold out, for they could set fire to the Blockhouse when they pleased, & if he would not surrender they would burn and torture every man that he had; he finding that they had made the approaches aforesaid, that they could set the house on fire above and below, the men being fatigued to the greatest extremity, & not able to extinguish such a fire and resist the enemy's numbers; he asked them in English if there was any man amongst them that understood that language, they said there was an Englishman now fighting against him who had been their Prisoner seven years. They then desired him to leave off firing & he should speak with him, accordingly they told him that they were of the Huron Nation at Detroit that had been compelled to take up arms against Detroit by the Outawas, that there was part of the other nations there with them, that they only wanted the house & that they

would have. They told him he might have liberty to go with his Garrison where he pleased. He then desired them to leave off their firing and he would give them an answer in the morning, early: That seeing the vessel during the attack hovering about unable to assist him & considering the situation he was in, & the impossibility of holding out any longer, He sent out two soldiers as if to treat with them that they might find out their disposition & how they had made their approaches, who were to give him a signal if they found what he imagined to be true, that finding what he imagined to be so he then marched out with the Garrison in order to save them having their promise of liberty to go to Fort Pitt, or where they pleased, but were no sooner out than seized, bound & he with four soldiers and a woman carried to the Huron Village, where they were kept Prisoners untill the 9th instant that he, the woman and one soldier were delivered up. That Shelbarger the said Soldier of Capt. Hopkins Company of the Queen's Rangers being examined by the Court declares the same in every particular.

JOS. HOPKINS.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPT. GEORGE ETHERINGTON TO MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN COMMANDING AT DETROIT, DATED MICHILAMACKINAC 19 JULY, 1763.

Dear Sir: The Express which I sent off to Lieut. Gorrell at Labay arrived very luckily one day before that Post was to have been cutt off. The Savages of that Post came down the Indian Village where I was Prisoner, & brought with them Lieut. Gorrell and all his Garrison, and they with Mr. Lesley, me and fourteen men that remained of the Garrison of this Place, are just embarking for Montreal under a guard of sixty savages of the Outawa Nation.

I have a thousand things to tell you but I cannot trust them by this conveyance, I have heard nothing of the four men that I sent last May to St. Josephs, there is two of my men yet with the Chippewas. I have prevailed with the savages to permit all the English merchants to carry all the goods to Montreal under the convoy, I have been at a very great expense here but it was all unavoidable. I don't despair of seeing you this Fall at Detroit & am, in the meantime Dear Sir, Yours Sincerely,

GEORGE ETHERINGTON.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT OF ENQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN, COMMANDING AT DETROIT, 6TH AUGUST, 1763.

Captain Hopkins, President.

Lieut. Williams, 17th Regt, Ensigns Anderson, 55th Regt, Members.

Mr. Rutherford being sworn informs the Court, that the Night before Capt. Campble was put to Death, He was sleeping at Monsieur St. Bemands house (who was always very civil to him) & in the middle of the night he was awakened by Francois Maloshe & two others whose names

he knows not. They took him in a Closet in said House produced him several letters which had been sent from the Fort to Cap. Campble & obliged him to read them in order (as they said) to know whether Peace was made with France or not; among the above mentioned letters this Deponant found one from Lieut. McDonald which mentioned that Peace was declared in the Fort and read said letter to them; upon which they scornfully said that peace was declared in *the Fort*; But they believed no where else. Several of the above mentioned letters were sealed when they were delivered to this Deponant and others open, which Meloshe said were given to him by Cap. Campble to be taken care of. Upon the Death of Campble (the day following) this Deponant was sent for to explain (in full Council of French and Indians) the aforesaid letters. He remembers the following persons that were in the Council, viz., Batist Campeau, Francois Meloshe, Batist Meloshe, Sancho P. Obain, *Louisan Denter Indian Interpreter*, Monsieurs Domelte, Pero Barth, likewise many others he does not know; Those above mentioned were very eager to find out anything to tell the Indians that they might not believe that Peace was made with France. This Deponant further saith that Pero Barth told him that he did not believe that there was Peace; But that Major Gladwin had made the Declaration himself to pacify the Indians. Francis Meloshe in the above mentioned Council, upon reading the news of Dr. Cuyless being attacked, said aloud let no man speak of them, they are Dogs. Monsieur Denter has often told this Deponant that he would make his escape to the Indians, for fear the Major would hang him. Pero Barth has told him the same. It was generally said among them that if any of the French were hanged, it would be those that brought Capt. Campble out of the Fort. This Deponant was used very illy by Monsr. La Tiard (at whose house this Deponant's Indian master had planted corn & his Cabbins always there & was treated very well by P. La Tiard) After Lieut. McDougall had made his escape, Mr. Coulliere told this Deponant, that it was a pity he was saved, as the French would likely suffer thereby. Farther this Deponant saith not. Detroit 6 Aug. 1763.

Ensign Poulett says the night before Capt. Campble was killed he was sleeping in the same room with Mr. Rutherford when Francis Maloshe awakened him and took Rutherford into another Room where he heard for sometime whispering and rustling of papers. In the morning he wanted to know what the French had told him; But Rutherford told him they had absolutely forbid him to mention it to him; But on his promising secrecy he told him the same as he has upon oath declared to the Court.

Lieut. McDougall being sworn informs the Court that the Day he and Capt. Campble left the Fort to treat with the Indians for a Peace, they

met with them at Monsieur Cuellerie's House where they saw the Indians and French assembled in the largest room. Monsieur Cuilliere seated in the middle with a laced hat and coat on, in which manner this Deponant had never seen him before, he kept his seat & his hat on when Capt. Campble entered & continued covered during the Congress: The Indians had just finished eating some bread which said Cuilliere had given them and on his giving them bread a second time, he again took part of one of the Pieces and eat himself, the Indians Demanded the reason, to which he answered that it was to assure them, he gave them nothing that was poisoned: This Capt. Campble and another person (who he does not remember) interpreted to this Deponant. After some time Pondiac the Chief of the Indians addressed himself to the beforementioned Cuilliere telling him that he looked upon him as his Father come to life & as the Commandant of Detroit untill the arrival of his Brother Monsieur Billeta; at which speech the said Cuilliere seemed much pleased; Then Pondiac turning addressed himself to Cap. Campble & this Deponant & told them that if they made a Peace it must be on the same terms that his Father Monsieur Billeta had made, viz., to lay down their Arms and be escorted by a number of Savages, that he would appoint for that purpose to the first Inhabitants; but he would not allow them to take either arms or baggage along; On which the aforesaid Cuilliere turned to this Deponant, took him by the hand and said my Friend this is my work (meaning the offered Terms). I thought they would have been much harder. Some Days after this Deponant and Capt. Campble were talking to said Cuilliere, & heard him say to Capt. Campble that he was only sorry for him and Mr. Sterling, the Day the Indians met in Council to assassinate the Garrison. Some time after when the Vessel went first from Detroit for Niagara Pondiac detached five canoes with Indians to attack her in one of which a Potawatamie was killed, on which the others run off. The Day after Monsieur Cuilliere was in the Room with Cap. Campble this Deponant, Pondiac and his Chiefs. And on Pondiac's acquainting said Cuilliere what he had done & what had happened, Cuilliere answered in a deriding manner; what was the use of five canoes, why not thirty-five canoes. This Capt. Campble interpreted to this Deponant. This Deponant further saith that the Son of Cuilliere was employed carrying messages to and from Pondiac, giving information against the few French who assisted the Fort with provisions, and prejudicing them against listening to the account of Peace. This Deponant says further that Young Cuilliere was one of the Party who when Pondiac in Council proposed to the French to take up arms against the Fort, that accepted the Belt and answered he eat the same bread & drank out of the same cup. & would fire out of the same gun. This Deponant says before and after the orders which Major Gladwin gave forbidding all

kind of communication with the Savages, Francis Meloshe continued a constant and open trade with the Savages selling them daily bread and dry goods; but was kind to him during his captivity. Further this Deponant saith not.

Mr. Chapman Abraham being sworn informs the Court, that in coming up Detroit River, having put on shore at the place of Monsieur St. Lewis, he acquainted this Deponant that the Fort was besieged by the Indians & Capt. Robertson, Sir Robert Daviss and a great many more English were killed, & that they intended to kill all the English that would come up Detroit River. This Deponant immediately told his men to go back with him; but the before mentioned soldiers told his men if they returned that would be all killed, as the Indians were round the whole Lake and at Niagara, upon which they absolutely refused to return with him. In consequence of which this Deponant put all his goods in said St. Lewis's house, who told him he could do his best to save them from the Indians; Then this Deponant asked him where he should go to hide himself to save his life. He and Madam Esperame (who was present) answered him he should go to her home & hide himself in her cellar; where he continued about ten minutes and then was told by said Madam Esperame to go out of the house; which he obeyed and in going out she perceived his watch chain & told him to give it to her that she was certain the Indians would kill him; upon which this Deponant told her he would make her a present of it, if she would let him stay in the cellar to save him from the Indians. She answered he should stay no longer in the House; upon which he endeavored to gain the woods; she followed him, demanding the watch a second time, which I again refused. By this time the Indians discovered him, took him prisoner and carried him to St. Lewis's house, where he found some of his goods were put in his canoe. This Deponant says further that one Pero Barth told him that Major Gladwin was the occasion of this Indian War; That if Capt. Campble had commanded this would not have happened; That the aforesaid Major would not give the Indians presents nor suffer their guns to be mended as Capt. Campble did; This Deponant replied that perhaps it was the General's orders not to do so, upon which he immediately said that the General did not order the Major to call them Dogs, Hogs & bid them go out of his house. This Deponant one Day saw Batist Devuiere and a great many other Frenchmen going to a Council with the Indians, he asked some of them what was the matter they would not tell him anything. This Deponant has daily seen some of the Frenchmen trading with the Indians giving them bread, tobacco and fish for English Merchants Goods that were taken from the Prisoners. That Piero & Hyacinth Reaume have traded with the Indians for his effects some of which he has seen worn by said Hyacinth's Daughters since his arrival in the Fort.

That Piero LaBute told him he bought of his effects. That Madam La Jenness being indebted to Monsieur Labadie & knowing him to owe this Deponant upward of twelve hundred louis, asked him if he had occasion for a quarter of veal & she would send it to him & discount it, which was proposed to said Labadie, who absolutely refused it. This Deponant says further that Batist Devuiriere had bought of his effects.

Monsieur La Bute Indian Interpreter for the Patawatamies & Outawas being sworn, informs the Court that the Day Cap. Campble and Lieut. McDougall met the Indians at Cuilleries house, that he was habited as Lieut. McDougall has informed the Court & that he kept his hat on during the Council, and that the purport of Pondiac's first speech was to inform the French and Indians that he turned out the Commandant (meaning Major Gladwin) and desired them to look upon and regard Monsieur Cuillierie as their Father and Commander, after which the said Cuillierie regaled Pondiac and the other Savages with three or four Flaggons of wine and pieces of bread. This Deponant further affirms what Lieut. McDougall has informed the Court of in regard to not poisoning the bread; The Day following the said Cuillierie inquired how Capt. Campble and Lt. McDougall did, they answered very well; But his Deponant answered very ill, for that the Indians had stripped them of everything & during the whole night, is that all, says Cuillierie, they are well off. I thought the Savages would have done much more. This Deponant further says that an Outawa savage told him, that the aforesaid Cuillierie, spoke to Pondiac, the Indian Chief, in this manner, have you sent three or four canoes to attack the Vessel, it would have been better to have sent forty. He also says that the son of the above Cuillierie was continually employed in giving and carrying intelligence to and from Pondiac, & that he (this Deponant) in Council, when Pondiac was alleging things against the said it was not true, on which Pontiac without hesitation answered then he is pointing to Cuillierie's son, who answered, yes I did tell it This Deponant adds that the Day Pondiac had assembled the old and young men of the settlement together, he demanded of them to assist in digging trenches against the Fort, Cuillieries son with the other young men desired the old men to answer first and they would afterwards. The answer was delivered by Monsieur Mayerin Spokesman for the young men, to this effect, we will not only take Spades but it is also our desire to take up Arms.

COPY OF AN EMBASSY SENT TO THE ILLINOIS BY THE INDIANS AT DETROIT, BY THE
COURIER GODFREY & CHENE.

Speech of the Outawas, accompanied with a large Belt.

Listen ye French our Bretheren who are Prisoners as well as we. It is vexing that the English whom we were willing to adopt as Bretheren, should deceive so many nations. All that the Delawares and Shawany's told us is now come to pass. They told us to be diffident to the English, they only seek to deceive you & so it happeneth. Without the assistance of the French Merchants who give us on trust some trifles we had received to buy what we stood in need of in the Fall we were undone since our Father, Mr. Biiletre went away; we have no news, none but the English receive letters. Is it possible that our Father writeth not? No Frenchman receiveth letters. This is to let our Father at the Illinois know our situation and request of him to inform us what is going on, that we may know if we are abandoned. The English tell us incessantly What ye Indians dare ye speak, see what we have done; We have your Father and the Spaniards; We are masters of these lands and of all which belonged to your Father, for we have beat him & we possess all these countrys even to the Illinois except a small spot which is but trifling. The Delawares told us this Spring, that the English sought to become Masters of all, and would put us to Death, they told us also "Our Bretheren let us Die together, seeing the Design of the English is to cutt us off, we are Dead one way or another. When we saw this, we decided all the Nations who are thy Children, to range themselves here at Detroit which they have done. We pray our Father at the Illinois to hasten to come to our succour, that he may have pity on us, notwithstanding that the English tell us constantly "From whom will ye get what ye stand in need of? When our Father, Mr. Belletre was going off from hence he told us "My Children the English to Day overthrow Your Father; as long as they have the upper hand ye will not have what ye stand in need of; but this will not last." We pray our Father at the Illinois to take pity on us and say "These poor Children who are willing to raise me up. Why do we that which we are doing to day? It is because we are unwilling that the English should possess these lands, this is what causeth thy Children to rise and strike everywhere.

We pray thee, our Father, send us an answer speedily, by these Couriers, tell us thy thought & thy will; We will put in thy hands him who chased thee from hence; there will be no hurt done unto him, we will say unto thee behold here he is. We beg of thee, also, our Father to treat kindly our Couriers. We are the cause of the fatigue which they are going to undergo.

Speech of the Chippewas, accompanied with a small Belt.

We approve of the Outawas Speech & have not forgotten our Father. We call to mind what our Ancestors told us. That if our Father was overthrown our lands would be taken from us. We know the intention of these people that crawl over our lands; this is what engages us to do what we do. We still keep hold of our Fathers hands, and do what lyeth in our power to draw it unto us, if we possess it we shall never let it go.

COPY OF A LETTER SENT BY THE INHABITANTS OF DETROIT, DIRECTED TO THE GENTLEMEN COMMANDANTS AT THE ILLINOIS.

Gentlemen: We are obliged to submit to what the Indians exact from us; The English are blocked up, and all the passages are shut up; We cannot express to you the our perplexity. It would be necessary, in order to judge of the calamities which threaten us and which appear to us inevitable, that you saw with your own eyes what is going on here. God alone can prevent our becoming the victims of the English and Savages. These Couriers bear to you the talks of the Nations here; We look upon it as a happiness to have it in our power to acquaint you of our deplorable situation. We certainly never have contributed thereto by our conduct; The English on their part never gave us occasion. Instruct us what we can do; We look upon you as Protectors and Mediators who would be willing to employ themselves efficaciously to pacify two contending partys who threaten us with an unexemplary Desolation.

A COURT OF INQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR HENRY GLADWIN, COMMANDANT OF DETROIT, 8 SEPTEMBER, 1763.

Capt. James Grant, 50th Regt, President.

Lieut. James Bain, Queens Independence, Ensign Robert Anderson, 55th Regt Members.

Andreas Trueax an Inhabitant of Schenectady being examined; declares that sometime after he had been taken Prisoner by the Indians and carried to their Camp, he met with a Frenchman at the house of one Rofcinate, to whom he told in course of conversation, & in the Indian tongue that he was glad to hear of the Indians that they said it was peace, & that he Trueax had told them it was so, upon which the Frenchman answered in a very angry tone that it was not so, that there was war at the Illinois, at Quebec and everywhere, pointing with his arm stretched to all parts, and that there was also a French fleet at Quebec; The Frenchman's name he does not know, but he is a short thick squatt fellow, a sil-

versmith (he himself said) by trade. That afterwards he Trueax had heard that about the beginning of the troubles at Detroit, this Frenchman had deserted the Fort where he formerly lived and is certain he never returned thither whilst he was a prisoner. Mr. Trueax further says that he had told the above Mr. Fisher, his fellow prisoner, who he believes knows the Frenchman's name.

Mr. Fisher who was a Prisoner with the Indians acknowledges to have the above Declaration told him by Mr. Trueax, & says the Frenchman's name is Bart and was a silver and gun smith in the Fort. The above Mr. Fisher declares that a day or two after he had been brought to the Indian Camp, he saw the above mentioned Bart the Frenchman in the Indian Cabbins he was brought to & on his telling the English that it was certainly Peace between the English and the French, this same Bart made answer, directing his discourse in answering contemptuous tone to the Indians saying it was a Lye, that it would not be Peace, why should it be sooner in Albany than at the Mississippi, that he Mr. Fisher told it was certainly Peace, and related to him as far of the Articles of Peace as he could then recollect; but Bart still insisted that it could not be, and that everything he Mr. Fisher had said to convince the Indians was false. The Indians then asked of Bart whether he had left the Fort or not, to which he answered laughing, left the Fort, I have left it long ago. Mr. Fisher further declares that sometime after, the sloop was seen under sail up the River, that he saw the same Bart upon the top of a house, who upon his observing the sloop steering towards the Indian Camp he heard him call to the Indians, down with your Hutts, down with your Hutts send off your squaws and children to the woods. Mr. Fisher also declares that the morning Capt. Dalyell had gone with his party, the squaws in his hutt told him, that Bart was through their Camp with his gun & that he heard him calling out, go to the woods, knowing his voice perfectly well. Mr. Fisher says further the same day he went with his Indian Father up to Gross Point, who invited him in to do his Commands and get some victuals, that they went to the house of a Frenchman whose name he does not know, but that he is a little squatt man with black curled hair & squints a little, with whom the Indian had some talk he could not well hear as they spoke low, but on their coming away he heard the Frenchman above described say to the Indian, taking him at the same time by the hand, Brother do your best againts the Fort, which he earnestly repeated, to which the Indian replied in their manner, yes. Mr. Fisher further says that when the Indians were making a Raft to sett the Vessels on fire, he told them that it was to no purpose that the English would hawl them off before they reached the vessel, that then a well dressed pleasant looking Frenchman & tall came up to him and said in presence of the Indians in their own language, that if there was ten well

tied together, with ropes, they would do, get across the vessel and certainly set her on fire, and at the same time directing the Indians, showing them how the Outawas made their rafts; which were then finished a little lower down; and waiting for the Chippewas, sending down theirs. This Frenchman Mr. Fisher says lives on the other side of the Creek in which the Outawas made their rafts, and is said by Isaac Trueax and Gerrit Teller to be one Milloss. Mr. Fisher further says that soon after the attack of Capt. Dalyell he was with his Indian Father at the House of one Cardinal, the son of the old Cardinal, & heard him tell his Father and many other Indians with a tone full of ecstasy & joy that the English had in that affair many killed and wounded, that they were lying here & there Dead in the Fields and that a Woman who had been in the Fort, of whom the Major had asked news regarding that affair, told him; she said there was but few Indians, that the Cardinal said to the Indians, that was true, for had you been all there few of them would escape, telling them at the same time that the Major had said that he would whip them all like beasts out of the ground with a horse whip. At which expression the Indians laughed very much, as if disdaining all threats.

Mr. Fisher further says that he was one day with his Indian father in a Frenchman's house, where there had been several Indians and one Gabriel a Frenchman, who lives where the Outawas encamped the time Capt. Dalyell made his attack, that he heard the said Gabriel & the Indians talk about having sent to the Fort for pipes, & the Indians telling him Gabriel that the Commanding officer had sent them word he knew not of their pipes, nor had he any, upon which this Gabriel got up and gave the Indian hoop or holloe, saying he was a man, & that he never threw away or lost a pipe, the Indians then answering the hoop, he Gabriel went out.

Andreas Trueax and Mr. Fisher both say that the same Gabriel had told them, that when the French and Indians had spoke at any time to the Major, he called them Hogs and other names, telling them to gett along and go about their business & would not hear them. Mr. Fisher further declares that one Tom, a servant of Mr. Knaggs's, who was prisoner at the same time told him, Mr. Andreas and Mr. Isaac Trueax, that one evening Mr. John Seeger, a partner of Mr. Knaggs's had got Wabacumaga the Indian Chief of the Messisagar Nation with him at Toronto and that Mr. Seeger who is now Prisoner told him at that time, Wabacumaga told him Seeger that St. Luke LeCorn had sent him a large belt to make war upon the English, which belt he kicked from him saying he would have nothing to do with it, that he would not fight against the English, for they were Masters of all, & that the above Chief had told Seeger who spoke the language well not to be afraid, that he or his partner should not be hurt, whilst he was about here. They do not

know the time the belt was sent, but Knaggs and Seeger were at Toronto from the Spring 1762. Mr. Fisher further says that one Notawas, an Outawa Indian had told him and both the above Trueax's, that there had been many Belts and Hatchets sent them these two years past, but that they the Outawas would not accept of any untill a large fine Belt came this last winter or Last Spring, the Outawas said from the Six Nations. But Mr. Fisher and both of the Trueax's are of opinion that the large fine belt was the same offered to the Messesagas Chief by St. Luke LeCorn.

MANNING FISHER.

Messrs. Andreas & Isaac Trueaxs acknowledges to have been present when Tom, Mr. Knagg's servant, had told Mr. Fisher what Mr. Seeger told him in regard to the Belt sent by St. Luke LeCorn as also at the Conversations between Mr. Fisher & the Outawa Indian and confirm the same, and that this Outawa Indian had told them the above in the Six Nation language having confidence in them, saying he had not fought himself, and when the War was over he would not live amongst his Nation, but would go down to Albany.

Isaac Trueax a Schenectady Inhabitant, declares that some time after he was brought to the Indian Camp, he was standing upon the Road with some other Prisoners, one George and one Bolton, Soldiers in the Royal Americans, that at that time Bart, the silversmith and Gunsmith, mentioned in Mr. Andreas Trueax's and Mr. Fishers Declarations, came to them and being in middle of Indian Camp, spoke to them very loud in the Indian Tongue and told them as a piece of news that there were some canoes arrived just then from Montreal, which brought letters that it was no Peace, and that there was fighting everywhere upon Sea and Land just as before, which news the Indians must have heard, as there were numbers about there, who showed all the marks of joy, on the occasion; He further says that some time after, he met one Lassell; who told him he was come from Montreal at that time, and had seen the traders murdered at Grand Riviere. Isaac Trueax further declares that one Mitchell, an inhabitant at Gross Point, told him there is a young man in the settlement, who had been amongst all the other young people of the settlement, with belts inciting them to take arms and assist the Indians in taking the Fort, desiring that they would form themselves into a Company of which he was to be Captain. Isaac Trueax, Andreas Trueax, Mr. Fisher, Turnbull, & Teller all cotemporary Prisoners knew the above mentioned Young Man Personally from many instances of his ill treatment and barbarity to the Prisoners, and that Mr. Mitchell knows his name, they having forgotten it. Isaac Trueax further declares, that Mr. Mitchell also told him there was another Young Man on the South side of the River exciting the People on that side in the same manner and to

the same purpose, whose name Mitchell also knows. Isaac Trueax further declares that from the time the goods taken from him and the other Traders came to the Indian Camp it was a publick market between the French and Indians 'till all was sold, and that Meloss who lives on the further side, of the Creek from the Fort, came to him in particular and told him that he bought Dollars of the Indians and gave the value of a Beaver for each dollar, that he also showed him his own Watch which he had got, and asked him if it was good. He further says that he and his partner had brought up with them a thousand Dollars which he saw disposed of to the French, who were there in crowds whilst the sale lasted, both men and women so many, that he could not possibly make any further distinction.

ISAAC TRUEAX.

Andreas Trueax says that he had taken from him one hundred and fifty dollars which were also bought up by the French.

Gerrit Teller a Schenectady Inhabitant declares that soon after he was brought to the Indian Camp a Prisoner, he spoke to one Niganuay a Chippewa Chief, the Father-in-Law of DeConagne the Interpreter at Niagara, and asked him if he thought we should soon have Peace, to which he answered not for a long while, and asked him Teller if he knew (when he left Niagara) that the Indians were fighting against the English, he answered he did not. The Indian Chief then said, No that none of the English or their Traders know of it; but that all of the French and a few of the Indian Chiefs knew of it. Gerrit Teller Further says that one Sunday in the afternoon the armed boats were sent up the River, he saw Bart, the silver and gunsmith mentioned in the Declarations of Mr. Andreas, Trueax and Mr. Fisher, run very fast up into the Indian Camp, and calling to the Indians that the English were coming up again, upon which the Indians took all to their Arms.

GARRIT TELLER.

Andreas Trueax being again examined says that Mitchel's wife at Gross Point told him that she was told by a Frenchman the names of four of the first people in this Colony who were principals at the head of all the mischief done here.

ANDREAS TRUEAX.

The above persons, Andreas Trueax, Manning Fisher, Isaac Trueax, and Garrit Teller, Declare they are willing at any time to make affidavit of what they have said, through the course of this examination. James Grant, President.

James Conner soldier in the 60th Regiment, who was Prisoner with the Indians, says that Charles Dusette had threatened to kill him, &

that he had fought against Capt. Dalyell on the 31st July and has 8r Robert Davers's Rifle and the Powder Horn and Point of Cap. Robinson. The said Dusette is the Person hinted in Mr. Trueax's evidence to have sent Belts to the young men of the settlement and treated the Prisoners so ill.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT OF INQUIRY HELD AT DETROIT, OCTOBER 1, 1783.

Capt. James Grant, 60th Regt., President.

Lieut. Bain of the Queens Rangers Ensign Anderson of the 55th Regt, Members.

John Severings soldier in the 60th Regiment being taken Prisoner by the Savages in May last by the Chippewas and brought down to the Outawa Camp near Melosshes House, says that during the time of his imprisonment he was made to work by the Savages at the Rafts with which they intended to fire the Vessels, he saw two Frenchmen, the two Melosshes, assist the Savages not only in constructing said Rafts but had given them augres, axes and other implements fit for that purpose. That he was in some time brought to the South Side of the River to a Frenchman's house with whom he was made to work. That the Frenchman paid the Savages half a bushel of wheat for every four days work (the Frenchman's name he knows not) but knows his House that he had saw some Indians come to the House demanding a cow to kill, that the Woman of the House asked them for Pondiac's order, which they said in Indian, Panama, signifying soon, that he had frequently seen billets or orders from Pondiac to several French for what the Savages might want, which was always readily granted, that he heard the woman of the same house say when the Indians are gone that Montreal was to pay half their loss by the Indians. James Conner soldier in the 60th Regiment being taken Prisoner at the same time with the above, was brought to Jacoe St. Aubergs an inhabitant's house who bought him, that soon after he was bought Pondiac the Indian Chief came and desired St. Auberg to send him to work at the Rafts then making to sett fire to the Vessels, which the Frenchman obeyed and sent him and his own son with a horse and cart to draw timber for the Rafts, that the same day he saw St. Auberg give a small Bullock to the Indians which they slaughtered before his door; that one day one Piero Bart came to St. Aubergs house and asked him the Prisoner what he thought of the war, will the Fort be taken, to which he cry'd no. That Bart said it would in two days, & that he would buy the two Jones's gunsmiths from the Indians; that Bart had at another time told him that the soldiers in the Garrison were entered in a Conspiracy, and under the silence of the Night intended to leap over the Pickets and abandon the Fort, and after they had got out

were to be conducted to Pondiac's camp by one Rhenbeaux, an Inhabitant in the Fort, desiring him at the same time not to speak of it to any of the English prisoners (This Conversation with Bart was in English) that he knew Mayack, St. Auberg, Mathias Meloshe, & Brother to have been constantly at the Indian Councils, whilst he was a Prisoner, that his Master St. Auberg had told him, these Councils were held to get them to take up Arms against the English, which they refused, but that two Frenchman had taken up arms, one Charloc Dusette, the other name he does not know. That he knows his Master St. Auberg to have tilled about ten acres of ground, which he had given to four different families of Indians to plant corn in, that he had often seen his master feed the Indians and knows him to have bought from them different sorts of goods plundered and taken from the English.

His
JAMES X CONNER.
Mark.

Thomas Meares soldier in the 60th Regiment being taken prisoner by the Savages at Presqu' isle the 22d June last says that he was brought from thence to the Indian Camp at Detroit where he saw Capt. Campble & Lt. McDougall Prisoners, that soon after Lieut. McDougall having made his escape he was carried to see Capt. Campble put to Death in a most barbarous and inhuman manner, and expecting the same to be his Fate as soon as they had done mangling the body of Capt. Campble, he implored the mercy of the man in whose house Capt. Campble & Lt. McDougall were whilst Prisoners, who answered no, were you my own Prisoner I would give you to the Indians, as you are an Englishman, for the Indians and we are all one, clapping of his hand to his heart, and proceeded in saying whilst he had anything they should not want, that on their return from the place of Execution he heard the same Landlord of Lt. McDougall tell many things of him to the Indians which occasioned their being very cruel and ill natured to him for a long time after. That he had been soon after Capt. Campble's Death brought to an Indian Village on the way to St. Josephs about four days march, in which Village he saw three Frenchmen (whose names he does not know but well know their Faces and their houses having been there sometime) come the day after Capt. Dalyell's Defeat in great haste, and heard them tell the Indians there, seemingly in the greatest joy, how the English were beat & had great numbers killed, showing how they were brought in complaining of their wounds & many other demonstrations of joy. That there is a Frenchman who lives below the Huron Village, & to his knowledge had given a cornfield to three Families of the Outawa Indians, as well as his Horses to carry the corn for them to the Riverside, when pulled (He also knows the man's face and house). That he also knows of St. Auberg having

given a Field of ten acres well till'd to the savages, and that he himself was made to work at the pulling of it, that he also knows the said St. Auberg having often run into the Indian Camp where he had been kept with intelligence when the English came out of their Fort with their Boats or otherwise. That he had often heard many of the Inhabitants spirit up the Indians by telling them that the English Garrison were living upon two ounces of Flour pr day, and no Pork, nor was there any at Niagara to be sent to them, that he knows also the houses of several Inhabitants in which the English plunder is deposited and preserved for the Savages, which he can show at any opportunity.

THOS. MEARES.

The three soldiers, John Severings, James Conner & Thomas Meares, are ready to make affidavit to what they have declared in the Course of the above examination.

JAMES GRANT, *President*.

JAMES BAIN,

ROB'T ANDERSON.

Detroit 12 October, 1763.

A COURT OF INQUIRY HELD BY ORDER OF MAJOR GLADWIN, ENG. COMMANDANT.

Captain Robert Rogers, *President*.

Lieut. Hay 60th Regt. (Members) Ensign Perry, Q. R. A. Rangers.

Evidence of John Seger, who was taken Prisoner at the Grand River in coming here, says that since he has been a Captive he has often heard the Indians say, in talking amongst themselves, that they were surprised that the French did not keep their words with them that they had promised they should not want for Provisions or Ammunition in case they should begin & continue the war with the English, & how would it be by and by if they began to draw back already. He further says that he was last Winter at Toronto a trading when he was told by Wapaumagen a Chief of the Missisagys that St. Luke Le Corn, had sent Belts to the Several Nations this Way, as he termed it under ye ground, which moved about last winter, the purport of which was to desire them to continue still in their friendship to the French, who would come in a Fleet in the Spring & take the Country again. He at the same time told him that the Indians would be at War with us in the Spring. That he was told by an Indian Chief in the Mohawk Tongue in Mr. Massack's House, in presence of many others that three Belts had been going about from the French these three years past exhorting the Indians to take up Arms against us. He also says that as soon as there is any alarm amongst the Indians they carried their goods in the French houses by way of security, that he

saw six pieces of straw in Massacks, which he believed to be part of what was taken from him at Grand River. The said Seger is willing to take his oath that the said evidence is true whenever he shall be called upon, and that Several Prisoners had shown him a Frenchman who spoke a little English, and whom he will know when he sees him, that always came to fire against the Fort with the Indians. The above Seger recollects that he was told by the Chippewas that the first canoe that went from here in the Spring to Montreal went on purpose to bring ammunition for them.

John Packs soldier, who was taken Prisoner coming from Michillimackinac in the Spring says that Charlo Dusette told him that he and Piero Barth had received two Belts of Wampum from the Indians as Commanders to raise the French in Arms to take the Vessels, they were to have had a man from each family, but they would not go with them though they warned them. That the French Guard the most valuable of their goods that in case we should drive them off they can come back and get them. The above Packs is willing to be qualified to the above evidence whenever he shall be called upon. True Copy.

ROBERT ROGERS.

LETTERS FROM M. NEYEON, COMMANDANT AT THE ILLINOIS.

To all my Children: The Iroquois, or Six Nations, Abenakies, Shawnes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Hurons, Pautewatamies, Shiraponts, Macoutins, Miamis, Oniejalanaws, Peanquickias, Illinois, Sakeys, Foxes, Folcavoines, Ozages, Kanes, Missouris, Panis, and to all Red Men.

My Dear Children, as none of you can reproach me of lying, I promised you to communicate to you the news, and you to listen to my speech. lo! here it is, My dear Children, open your ears that it may penetrate even to the bottom of your Hearts. The great day has come at last wherein it has pleased the Master of Life to inspire the Great King of the French, and him of the English to make Peace between them, sorry to see the blood of men spilled so long, it is for this reason they have ordered all their Chiefs and Warriors to lay down their arms and we to acquaint you of this news, to engage you to bury the hatchet, doing it as I hope, what joy you will have in seeing the French and English smoke with the same pipe and eating out of the same spoon and finally living like Bretheren. You will see the Road free, the Lakes and Rivers unstopped. Ammunitions and Merchandise will abound in your Villages; Your women and children will be cloaked as well as you, they will go to the dances and Festivals not with cumbersome & heavy clothes, but with skirts, blankets and Ribbands, forget then, my dear children, all the evil talcks, may the wind carry off like dust all those which have pro-

ceeded out evil mouths. The Respect and Friendship which you have always had for the Word of Onondijio and for mine in particular makes me believe that you will listen to this one now: It is from a Father who loves tenderly his Children and who seeks nothing but your welfare.

The French are free even as you, they change the Land when the King orders it, he has not given yours, he has only ceded those which he had amongst you in order to avoid War for the future and that ye may always enjoy tranquility and have abundance of merchandise in your Villages. I depend upon you that you will not make me lie, and that your Young Men will not quit their Rattles or play things to take up the Hatchet, but to carry it amongst Savage Nations from whom you expect no succours and who are on the Earth to Embroil it. Leave off then my Dear Children from spilling the blood of your Bretheren the English, our hearts are now but one, you cannot at present strike the one without having the other for enemy also, if you continue you will have no supplies, and is from us that you expect them, you will be always in my heart, and in those of the French who will never abandon you.

I bid you all farewell and recommend you to respect always the French who remain amongst you, altho I expect to go off sometime after the Couriers which I dispatch to you, send me your answer by them. If I do not receive it here it will be at New Orleans where I will concert with the great chief, the means for supplying you, thus having all the other side of the River Mississippi where the French will supply the wants of those who will be in this quarter.

I pray the Master of Life to enter into your hearts & that he may make you know that in following the advice which I give you to make Peace with our Bretheren the English, you may never stand in need of being pitied, and finally that the King, I and all the French will be glad to see you live in Peace, and for proof of the truth of what I tell you, I sign these Presents with my hand and put thereto the seal of my arms at Fort Chartre 27 Sept. 1763.

(Seal)

Signed, J. NEYEON DEVILLIERE.

Fort Chartre at the Illinois, 27th Oct., 1763.

Gentlemen: It is well decided that the King of France, the King of England and he of Spain (undoubtedly affected with the horrors of such a long and bloody war) have at length made Peace, whereof the Definite Treaty was Exchanged the 4th of March last. It is by virtue of a letter with the King's Seal that the Governour by his dispatches bearing date the 13th of last July (and which I received the 21st past) gives me orders to deliver up this Peace to the Commissaries of his Brittannick Majesty empowered by his orders for the purpose & evacuate it. I do not enter

into a Detail of this Cession; it is conformable to the articles in the Parliamenteries concerning this Quarter, and which you have seen, which leaves the Inhabitants free and at liberty to retire wherever it seemeth good unto them within the possessions of the Three Kings; he has then ordered me to acquaint all those who are willing to withdraw themselves hereof, & to propose to them New Orleans, the Allemants, Lapointe, Loupée, Anhancas and Sante Gunnviene, to establish themselves there with assurance of having all facility in their new settlements. If any amongst you gentlemen choose to follow this resolution, they are free to do it and may assure themselves that I will procure them every succour that will depend on me. It remains then, Gentlemen, that I exhort you agreeable to the Kings intention to put everything in practice to contribute to the Peace which I demand of the Indians, being well persuaded that the English Gentlemen will take the most just means to accomplish it in consequence whereof I have dispatched these Couriers and am entirely, Gentlemen, Your very humble & Most Obt. Servt.

(Signed) NEYON DEVILLIERE.

To all the Inhabitants at Detroit.

We Peter Joseph Neyon DeVilliere Major Commandant of the Illinois: Mr. Dequindre, Cadet, is ordered to set out this day with one named James la Devarette and two Indians to go to Detroit to carry our Dispatches thither.

He will be charged, moreover, with a parole from us in writing with a flying seal, three Belts and four pipes for all the Nations.

As the Ouyatanons are the first that he will find, he will cause their Chiefs to be assembled, together, to whom he will explain exactly our Parole in assuring them of the Peace, in token whereof, he will deliver up to them one Belt and one Pipe.

He will do the same with the Kekapouts, Maskoukins, & Miamis, and from thence he will go to Detroit, when he will deliver our letters to the Commandant.

If contrary to our intentions the siege of Detroit by the Indians should obstruct his entering into the Fort, he is to go to Pondiac, Chief of Outawas, where he will read over our Parole and give it up to them, enjoying them to convey it to all the other Nations.

He will be on his Guard in order to avoid all manner of surprises from ill conditioned Indians.

We command to him most expressly to make all dispatch. We desire, therefor, all whom it may concern not to retard him but on the contrary to procure him succour and assistance. Given at Fort Chartre, 27 Sept. 1763.

Signed, NEYON VILLIERE.

THE DECLARATION OF MR. JADOC TO MAJOR GLADWIN AND CAPT. GRANT AT MAJOR GLADWIN'S HOUSE, THE 24TH DEC., 1763, IN THE EVENING.

Saith that in council with Pondiac composed of the following principal Inhabitants, viz., Navarre Schcott, Campeau, Currie, and Frank Meloss, sometime about the latter end of June or beginning of July, 1763 Schcott told Pondiac that they would not fight with him against the English, as they would expose their wives and children to inevitable ruin, should they not succeed, but that there were about three hundred young men in the settlement who had neither Parents or much property to lose, that might and ought to join him, in consequence of which speech Pondiac addressed himself to some Young Men present, who immediately agreed to join him and fight against the English. Kenbarger told him of this Council and that Frank Meloss had insisted in said Council that Mr. Nevarre being a knowing & leading man would tell assure Pondiac that they were all ready and willing to take up arms with him against the English, which Nevarre absolutely refused, & said no I will not tell him, tell it him yourself. That on Jadocs hearing the result of this Council he came to Pero Potie, the Jesuit and prevailed upon him to come to the Fort and acquaint the Commandant of what passed, but as the Jesuit was ready to sell out, Piero La Bute & Baptist Gruereme came and finding he was going to the Fort told him he was mad, that Pondiac would burn his church, destroy all he had and then kill himself, which frightened him and prevented his going and acquaint the Commandant that it was agreed upon in Council about the 5th day of July, that the Garrison was to be attacked without by the Savages and French, and within by the French Inhabitants residing in the Fort. N. B. This corresponds with three large Keys being found in the Fort, which answered in every respect the locks of the Fort & with the Deposition of McConie, a soldier in the 60th Regiment, who had at that time been Prisoner, and told by a fellow Prisoner, who spoke good French that the Garrison were all to be murdered, as the French were all to attack it from without and within, as well as the savages, or to this purpose. Jadoc further saith that at Piero Labutes House he told Pondiac of the Peace, and putting three of his fingers close, showing as the three great Kings had now made Peace, that in attacking the English it was attacking the whole three & many other arguments to prevail on the Savage Chief to listen to reason which he for a little time seemed inclined to giving great attention; But the said Labute in a rage told him Pondiac it was all a lie, propagated by the English to deceive them, and that Jadoc himself was no other than an Englishman. He further saith that all the St. Obaignes & Campeaus are the most prominent people in the settlement, and by them proposed to make trenches, that when the enemy were close on the outside the

Garrison was to be attacked within. That Bart the gunsmith and Ship-
paton, two Inhabitants of the Fort had often gone out amongst the Sav-
ages and told everywhere that the English in the Fort were half Dead,
and that a good savage cry would make them surrender; Further that
Currie, Schicott, Meny Chene, Godfrey and others knew of the Plan to
murder the Garrison in Council several days before it was attempted to
be put into execution; and that by the requests of Curie, Campeau and
some others Capt. Campbell was to be saved, That Pierro La Rute had
told Jadoc that Currie had also desired of Pondiac to save Capt. Hop-
kins that he was as one of them, which he promised to do if he knew him.
Further that Baptist Campeau came to his Jadocs house showed him
some letters & a Belt which were to be sent to the Illinois by Godfrey
and Meny Chene, which on reading surprised him so much that he asked
said Campeau if he showed them to the Commandant; that he answered
with equal surprise, what Commandant, we have no other Commandant
now but Pondiac & next Sunday you'll go to the Mass in the Fort, and
you'll see no English there, we will take it eer that time. Jadoc then
replied, how will you take it. We will take it by sapp replied Campeau,
further that Tiffoc, who came in the Fall from the Illinois and positively
declared to all the Savages there was no Peace that it was all a lie &
there would be an army soon from the Illinois with ammunition enough;
he lodges and resides at old Predomes House. That LeVille Beau, Char-
toc Campeau and old Predome particularly harboured and fed the sav-
ages in the times of want. Further that outside Rentaigne, Cab-
barcher, St. Andrew and St. Bernard are all good men, but that, in short,
the villany of the settlement in general, to write it, would fill a volume.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT OF ENQUIRY HELD BY MAJOR GLADWIN'S ORDER TO EX-
AMINE THE FOLLOWING PERSONS UPON OATH, DETROIT, 20TH DEC., 1763.

Capt. James Grant, President.

Lieut. Abbot Royal Artillery Ensign John Christie Members.

James Barns soldier in the 60th Regiment being duly sworn declares
that he was one of the Garrison of Miamis on the 27 May 1763, when that
Garrison was taken by the Indians, and that Mr. Welch the Merchant
who had been taken on the Miamis River some days before, told him
after he had been taken, that being in the river he was haled to come on
shore and was secured by the Indians in company with two frenchmen,
Godfrey and Miney Chene, who were with the same Indians when he
came to the Miamis Fort on the 26th in the Evening, & that next day
after Mr. Holmes was killed, the serjeant taken and the men, having
shut the Fort, the Frenchman Godfrey was with Mr. Welch at the Fort
when he called to them to give up the Fort & that they would be all

saved, on the Contrary, the Fort would be set on fire & they all burn't, upon which they opened the gates and surrendered, that soon after they were Prisoners, Welch told him the Deponant that he was ordered to tell them to give up the Fort, By the two Frenchmen Godfrey and Chene, that Godfrey had told him, the Deponant, to give him a pair of silver buckles he had on his shoes, saying he might have them as well as the Indians, which he, Godfrey, made Welch Interpret to him in English, for which buckles the said Godfrey paid him, at Detroit, in December following, being then Prisoner there; the Indians who had them Prisoners told them they were going to take Ouyatanaw, and went off accordingly accompanied by the two said Frenchmen, Godfrey and Chene, and that soon after they heard Ouyatanaw was taken and that they carried two of the soldiers taken at Miamis with them, when they went off for Auiyatanaw. The Deponant further says that as soon as they were taken away from the Fort Miamis, He saw French Colours flying upon it, The Deponant further says, upon oath, that Godfrey and Miney Chene, the prisoners at Detroit, are the very Persons he saw with the Indians when Miamis was taken.

William Bolton, soldier in the 60th Regiment, being duly sworn, confirms the Depositions of Burns, excepting from the consternation he was in he does not remember who was with Welch when he spoke to them to surrender the Fort, as also that he heard that the Indians had told the Frenchman Godfrey and Chene to desire him to tell them in the Fort, to surrender and that they would be all saved.

John McConnie Soldier in the 60th Regiment being duly swornne deposeth that he was taken by the savages at Presqu' isle in June 1763, that he was conducted from that to the Indian encampment above Detroit and from thence to one Labidie's house, an Inhabitant on the Riverside below the Fort, and that during the two nights he was there, he saw the Landlord Labidie with his own hands dressing the heads and painting of three Young Frenchmen in the Indian manner, each of the two nights. He believes the first night was only to please the savages, several being there. That on the day following, being the second day, he was there, one Rannoc, a Frenchman but a soldier taken with him and Prisoner at Labadies told him, with seeming sorrow, that this night they would all be killed within the Fort, That Waggeman, another Fellow Prisoner had been sent into the Fort to be exchanged for an Indian, and then would be killed, That he the Deponant having asked Rannoc how or in what manner they were to be killed telling him at the same time of his seeing Labadie painting and dressing the young Frenchmen the night before, that Rannoc then replied that the rain only hindered them from attempting it the night before and that the French were to assist the Indians, being angry for a Frenchman being wounded, and this Night they are

to be killed in the Fort, as they can go in when they please, they having gotten keys to open the Gates & all the French within are to rise and assist them as well as all the young men in the country.

The deponent further declares that the evening of the day Rannoc told him as above, Labadie, the Landlord, had the second time addressed his young men as above described, who had all gone out with several savages, he imagined to attack the Fort as told him by Rannoc, that at several other little intervals during the Night Labadie came to the place where the Deponent lay, touching him with his hand, he believes to prevent his escape, the house being dark and only one old soldier left to guard him, That about the middle of the Night, finding the House quiet he the Deponent got up, and crept as far as the Door, with an Intention to make his Escape but was prevented by Labadie's having heard him trying to open the door, challenged him and desired if he would go out to take the Indian along with him. The Deponent further says that he believes he might have got off, had he not in the same day, Rannoc and he conversed as above, put confidence in Labadie who had asked him if he knew the Indians to have got money in their plunders with some other questions to which he replied he did not know, but that they had got some Watches, and then consulted him about making his escape, that he told him it was impossible if could not swim, pointing to the River, which trust he is certain prevented his getting off that night by the vigilance of Labadie & likewise believes was the occasion of his being carried away next day to Sagana, where in his way he met with John Edwards a Soldier & Prisoner to whom he related the circumstances as in this Deposition. The Deponent further declares that he saw Labadie buy three pairs of white stockings from the Indians for tobacco, which stockings he believes had been the property of Ensign Christie, who had been also taken at Presqu-isle. And that he further knows the said Labadie to have received spades shovels and other utensils belonging to the King from the Savages. The Deponent further says that in the Fall of the Year when he was at Sagana, he saw two cannons with eight or nine Frenchmen, mostly wounded, who the Indians told him were going to the Mississippi for to bring ammunition and men, that a French army from thence were coming this way. The Deponent further says that he was lying down in Labadies house one of his Daughters came to him, give him a kick with her foot and told him in English to move aside, and that the husband of that woman was one of the men dressed and painted by Labadie as above related, and had gone out with the savages in the night.

John Edwards soldier being duly sworn declares that the Deponent McConnie had told him on his way to Sagana the whole in regard to a Frenchman in whose house he had been in, having painted and dressed

three young Frenchmen, who he believes assisted the Indians against the Fort and also told him with great concern that the Fort was to have been taken that Night in the manner related in his deposition. N. B. The circumstances in the Deposition of McConnie with regard to the Gates being laid open by the Enemy's false keys appears to be true, as there were three large keys found within the Fort sometime after hid under ground exactly the same make with the real keys of the Fort and answering locks equally well. McConnie being asked how he knew Labadie to be the Person he had seen Painting the Young Men & Co Answers he has often since he came from the Savages, therefore knows him perfectly well; being asked who were the young men he saw him paint, answers he believes two of them were his sons & the other he is sure was his son-in-law.

JAMES GRANT, *President.*

A COURT OF INQUIRY ORDERED TO TAKE THE DEPOSITIONS OF THE FOLLOWING PERSONS TAKEN BY THE SAVAGES IN THE SUMMER, 1763.
DETROIT, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1764.

Capt. James Grant, *President.*

Ensign John Christie, Ensign Christopr Pauly, 60th Regt. Members.

Capt John McCoy of the 60th Regiment being duly sworn Deposeth that he was at Miamis Fort on the 27th day of May 1763 when it was taken by the savages, that in the morning he saw some Indians coming towards the Fort, that he went out to see who they were, and what they came about, that as he approached them he saw Mr. Welch, the Indian Trader and two Frenchmen, Chene and Godfrey, with the savages, that Welch called to him and told him it was better to surrender the Fort, that their officer was killed & that none of them would be hurt, on which he turned round to go back to the Fort but found that he was surrounded by the savages and his retreat cut off; surrendered himself and was carried away to the Indian Cabbins about 200 Yards where he found three soldiers who had been taken with Mr. Welsh some days before: Being asked in regard to the behavior of the Frenchmen Godfrey & Chene, answers he saw no bad behavior of them during the time he had any opportunity of seeing them, which was not above an hour, he further Deposeth that the second day after he was taken from the opposite side of the River he saw a Frenchman hoisting a white Flag on the Flagg Staff but does not know positively who the Frenchman was, that he did not know of Ensign Holmes being out of the Fort until he was told by Welsh that he was killed, that he knows nothing of any French that had been seen amongst the Indians, but of a vagabond (had been sometimes at the Miamis) who has gone off to the Illinois & had often told the Indians that Quebec and New York &c were to be taken, that the Miamis

Indians had only sent seventeen or eighteen of their Warriors to Detroit who they told him were not to fight as they were at war against the Cherokees.

Robert Lawrence soldier in the 60th Regiment Deposeth that on the 24th May when he was taken by the Indians with Mr. Welch the Trader on the Miamis River he saw the two Frenchmen Godfrey and Chene, with the same Indians of whom he asked Welch to enquire what Nation the Indians were off, that the old man Godfrey answered they were Ottawas and Chippewas, that Welch, at his desire, asked the Frenchman Godfrey again, where they were going? Who answered that the Indians had sent them with Letters to the Commandant of the Illinois to desire that he would come down and take possession of the Garrison of Detroit, that Capt. Campble and Lt. McDougall were taken Prisoners, & that the Indians had been a beating of them for two days before they left Detroit, that Godfrey spoke to them only, that Miney Chene kept constantly among the Indians, that in a little after they were taken and tied, he saw two other Frenchmen whose names he does not know, who had some conversation with Mr. Welsh, Godfrey and Miney Chene, set off with these other Frenchmen who were servants to Mr. Welch, in two Battoes with all the plunder then taken he was told for this Place, that Welsh told him on the 25th that the old Frenchman Godfrey had asked what sort of man was Mr. Holmes? Was he a good soldier? That on his being told he was, the Frenchman then said if he was he had better shut the gates and Fight. That on the 26th in the evening the Indians had tied the Prisoners down to the ground, within two miles of the Fort Miamis; Went all off except two, who with the two Frenchmen Godfrey and Miney Chene, he as well as the other Prisoners supposed were left to Guard them, that after they were sometime gone, Mr. Welch asked the French where they were gone, they told him to kill Mr. Holmes, in his Room if they could, that in the night two Indians returned to where they were tied & were led in that condition to their Cabbins. That in the morning 27th May they had contrived to get Mr. Holmes out of the Fort, waylaid & killed him & brought his scalp to the Cabbins, that then they called out Welch and the two Frenchmen Godfrey and Miney Chene who he saw no more.

Thomas Cooper a soldier in the 60th Regiment being upon Oath, Deposeth he was taken at the Depot of St. Cayler on Lake Erie and carried through this settlement to an Indian farm, belonging to different Nations, that he was well treated by the Savages during his Confinement & did not see a Frenchman all the time he was prisoner.

N. B. The two Frenchmen who carried off Welsh's goods and not known by Lawrence must be known by Godfrey and Miney Chene, who were there.

James Grant, President.

John Christie, H. Pauli, Ensigns 60th Regt. Members.

Detroit, 16 February, 1764.

Jadeau told the Commandant in my presence that there are several in this settlement making Pettyaguar in order to run off in the Spring with all their grains, to the Illinois & that that several of them had called him names and abused him for hindring them from striking the English last year, and driving them out of the country, and promised to bring their names. Jadeau returned the 6th March, but says the above intention was owing to a vagabond from Montreal who stays in the settlement and he is to bring him into the Fort as soon as possible with Claremont who is to discover a person in the Fort who had sung and Danced the War Song and Dance with the Indians the Night or Day before the Commandant and the Garrison were to be murdered in Council, which he told Claremont the intended Massacre. Jadeau further told on the said 6th March, that one Predone an Inhabitant abused him for stopping some young Frenchmen (forced by Pondiac) from attacking the Vessell, he further says that old Bean an Inhabitant on the south side of the River (or little Cote) is one of the worst subjects in the Colony.

Thursday, the 5th April, 1764.

Jadeau further told me in Col. Gladwin's room & presence, that Teala the Huron Chief had told him that the source of the Indian War, was not owing to any Belts or Emissary sent amongst the Indian Nations about Detroit by the Six Nations but to the French, who had been constantly telling them that their Father had come and taken Quebec & Montreal & they were coming here with an army from the Illinois, that they would be angry with them if they did not strike the English and take the Fort, ere they came, that this was the argument used by more than two thirds of the settlement to stir up the Indians to mischief.

I was informed by Mr. LeGrand and Monsieur Dirrisseaux, that before Canada was taken Pondiac and some Chiefs from Detroit, suspecting a complete conquest on the side of the English had gone down to Fort Pitt and the other Forts on the Communication towards Pennsylvania enquiring the treatment they would have should the English succeed to which was answered that first all the Rivers were to run in Rum, that presents from this great King were to be unlimited, that all sorts of goods were to be in the utmost plenty and so cheap as a Blanket for two Beavers, 4 Raccoons taken for a Beaver, with many other fair promises which they told in the settlement on their return with much insolence. In consequence of which they allowed Rogers with a handful of men to take possession of the Fort and Colony, receiving him with joy, and using Belletre the French Commandant at the same time with much disrespect.

That in about a year after Pondiac in particular had been heard to complain and say the English were liars, which opinion became so general, that a long time before they openly declared themselves in arms, a general discontent was amongst all the Nations, and the chief complaint on that of the prohibition of rum and that the English took six Raccoons for a Beaver, when the French never took but four, with many other complaints more trifling in their nature, such as Annual Congresses promised &c., so that on the whole they say all the promises the English made were no other than to blindfold and delude them for which they had been often heard to say they would kill all the liars and give their lands to their Fathers.

(Signed)

JAMES GRANT.

May 11, 1764.

Mr. Clairmont told Col. Gladwin in the presence of Capt. Grant & Lt. Hay. That the 9th day of May 1763 (being near the Mouth of the River Huron getting timber where was also Mr. Massac and many other Frenchmen) at three in the morning some Indians came by there with a Belt inviting all nations of Indians they met to fall upon the English, wherever they found them. That they sung the War Song in Mr. Massac's house or Cabbin, which was a little distance from his, & that Mr. Massac sung with them & when he struck his stroke in the song he struck with a little loaf of Bread. That one Dunoir and one Campeau was present. That they also said the first Council that was to be held in the Fort would be to murder all the English. That about eight o'clock the same morning Sir Robert Davers and Lt. Robinson came there in a Boat, to whom he told all that had passed and desired them not to go forward but rather stay with him, but they would not believe anything he said and went on. That Mr. Massack went off in the woods and would not see Sr. Robert. That about ten he heard the report of some guns toward the Lake & between three and four in the afternoon the Indians came back and brought their scalps. Massack then said he did not think they would have killed them, & he was sorry for his fault. Clermont then told him it was necessary somebody should go and acquaint the Commandant of what had passed, upon which Massac desired him to come along, but Clermont then asked him he could go who had nobody but a Child to take care of his House, and you have four or five men. But since you will not go without me I will go by myself, when Massack saw that he went off & Clermont imagined came to inform of what had passed, it was then about five in the afternoon, the 9th May.

On Tuesday the 5th June, 1764, Mr. Jadeau informed me in the presence of Col. Gladwin and Lieut. Hay that one Lesperame, a Frenchman on his way from the Illinois he saw a letter with the Ottawas, at the Miamis River, he is sure wrote by one Baptist Campeau (a deserter from

the settlement of Detroit) and signed by Pondiac, the Savage from the Illinois setting forth, That there were Five hundred English coming to the Illinois, & that they, the Ottawas at Miami, must have patience that he Pondiac was not to return until he had defeated the English & then he would come with an Army from the Illinois to take Detroit, which he desired they might publish to all the Nations about. That Poudar and Ball was in as great plenty as water. That the French Commissary La Cleff had sold about Forty Thousand weight of Powder to the Inhabitants, that the English, if they came, might not get it. There was another letter on the subject sent to an Inhabitant of Detroit, but can't tell in whose hand it is. Jadeau further said that Lesperame told him that Pondiac on his way to the Illinois this Spring, at Miami, found there some English Prisoners, one of whom had beat a Chief of that Place. That Pondiac told them they must burn him, and on non-Compliance he threatened to destroy their Nation, on which threat that Prisoner was burned and another shot.

Signed,

JAMES GRANT.

July 9th, 1764.

This day a small party of Potawatamies arrived here who informed that an Indian was come from the Illinois to St. Josephs who informed them that he was in Council with Pondiac there. That Mr. Deneyon told him he was glad to see him & hoped that his sences were come to him. Pondiac then took a large Belt and laid it before him saying, My Father, the reason of my journey is to get you & all your allies to join with me to go against the English, upon which Mr. DeNeyon took the Belt and told him, Your speech much surprises me as I doubt not but you have rec'd my message, wherein I informed you, the French and English were but one, then returned the Belt. Pondiac then took the Belt again and importuned Mr. DeNeyon several times on the same subject, at last Mr. DeNeyon grew angry and kicked it from him, asking him if he had not already heard what he said to him. He then addressed himself to the Illinois Indians and told them, they saw him that day in the Fort but perhaps they would see their Brothers the English next, and exhorted them to live in amity with them, which he made no doubt of as their sentiments were very good. Pondiac then asked for Rum & De Neyon gave him a small Barrell, which he took to one of the Illinois Villages, and with a Red Belt exhorted them to sing the War Song with him, which some of them did, but were very sorry for it when they were sober. The Indian that brought this says that before he left the Illinois he saw three English officers, who were sent on before, the Army being but a little way behind with a large Body of Indians.

June 10th, 1764.

This day Teata, a Wiandott Chief of this Place, arrived here from Sandusky where he had been to carry Sir William Johnson's Speech, who says that after he delivered it and left it to their Deliberation, The Great Chief (Big Jaw) got up and thanked him for the trouble he had been at to bring it and immediately the whole went out. After he had delivered the speech he says he advised them to come to their senses, but in case they did not it was their affair. Four days after they came back and desired Teata to come and hear what they had to say in answer. The first Belt they gave him was a repetition of Sir Williams speech. Then they took another. Saying Sr William asks the reason why we struck against the English, we think he ought to know better than anybody; yes said they, it is Sr William that ought to know, but since the Senecas have made Peace with him, and the English, tell him it was them that just embroiled the Earth and were the first cause of what has been done. Gave a Belt. They then took another Belt and said, Sr. William and the Six Nations want that we should own our folly and find words to excuse ourselves that we may be again set right. You'll tell him by this Belt which you are charged to deliver to him that for what is past is past, that we have yet done no harm since last summer, we have kept our Young Men quiet for which reason we think the breach may be easily mended; and tell him also we shall keep them quiet this summer when we think we shall be reconciled. The two Mohawks who are come with Teata say that they were told by the Hurons of Sandusky that they would not tell Teata the result of a Council they had had with the Shawnees, which was that they were to try to take Fort Pitt by Treachery, and if they failed there, were to go against the Inhabitants on the Frontier. One of them further says that before he left the Delawares Towns he saw thirty small parties go out who were all intend to go to our Frontiers. They both also say that the Hurons at Sandusky laughed at Teata behind his back and called him fool for believing what Sir William said and bringing such a message. That tho he said they should be friends, it can never be untill all the English, except Traders, go from this Place, meaning Detroit, and then we believe we shall agree. That their God tells them they must make War, & no Peace for ten years, at the end of which by the force of treachery during that time all the English will be drove away & then they will have Peace & not till then. That the Delawares and Shawnees and *Hurons of Sandusky* all say the English are fools, that they can make friends with us when they please and Tomahawk us the next day. That the English always told them they had as many men as there were leaves on the trees; but we look upon one Indian as good as a thousand of them, and notwithstanding we are but mice in comparison to them, we will kick as much as they can. The two

Mohawks further say that the Hurons at Sandusky told them they were very sorry that Sir William Johnson was coming here, as they imagined by that, he wanted to have his Bones here. They also say that, while they were at the Shawan-y Village, the French from the Mississippi sent them a Present of Powder, of which they saw three Barrels. That the Onondagoes whom Sir William sent against the Shawanies came to one of these Villages, where they were asked what they came for; they said we come to scalp you; Then one *Kayoughshoutong* said, here, take these, giving them two old scalps, that he had newly painted, go home and tell Sir William you have scalped two Shawanese; upon which they returned, that the above mentioned Indian was the cause of their not striking against the Shawanese. But it was not so with the Tuscororsco for they lost three men. Mr. St. Martin, Interpreter, told Col. Gladwin several Times, that the Hurons of this Place, told him, that if Peace was made with the Delawares, Shawanese and Hurons of Sandusky that it would be neither good nor lasting.

I Henry Bostwick, Resident at the Fort of Michilimackinac the 2d June 1763, declare that I saw Mr. Sans Chagarine of the Fort of Michilimackinac standing at the Door of His House at the Time the Indians were murdering the Soldiers, with the Door open, and I saw a soldier running towards the House for Shelter and the Indians after him, but as soon as he came near the Door, they shut it against him, which gave the Indians time to strike him with his Hatchet; upon receiving the Blow he fell forward with so much force against the Door that He broke it open. I then went into my Garret and hid myself under some Baggs of Corn and soon after my house was broke open and they began to plunder: I saw the Pany slave, belengin to Arngott, the Smyth, plundering in the Chamber with the Rest. After the affair was over I demanded Argott to return me what his slave had plundered from Me; He told me what he had got was safe, but he would not then return them. I also saw in my garret the son of Monsr Cardin, lamed *Hance*, taking the corn out of my Chamber into another adjoining his. When he came to the Corn that covered me, I directed him to speak to the Indians to save my life, but he called to one of them and made a motion with his mouth towards me. On seeing myself in such an unhappy situation I went towards an Indian, that I knew, and put myself in his hands, at the same time the other Indians made a stroke at my head, with his Hatchet, which I fended off with my arm, and the Indian, I spoke to to protect me, saved me from all other attempts. During the whole time the Frenchman came not to my assistance. I was not in many of their Houses after, but in every one where I *was*, I saw either Goods or Peltry. I saw in the House of Forti, the Interpreter, three Packs, which belonged to me, the first Day; the Day following I saw his Servants bringing into his House Corn, Pork and

other things which I supposed came out of the King's store, as it was at that time opened. I likewise saw Powder brought in from the Magazines. At Monsr Ianglads, Senr, I saw one Pack which he would not give me, for Fear of affronting the Indians, who left it with Him. He told me he had traded several of my Packs and would trade all that came in his way, as it was no matter to him where they got them. Amblin, likewise told me, he had bought very cheap of the Indians some of my stockings, and other Things. I told Him I would be glad to give Him what they cost him, if he would let me have them again, because I had none to wear. He told Me he got them for His own Use and not to sell, and that He wou'd wear fine stockings as well as I, and I heard him say that every person got something.

Sworn before me on the Holy Evangelist this 13th Day of Augt. 1763, at Montreal.

DANIEL DISNEY,
Town Major.

I Edward Chim declare that on the 16th day of July, 1763, Joseph Tessuo a Person employ'd in the service of Howard, Chim & Bostwick, came to me and demanded to be released from his service. We being much in want of Assistance cou'd not comply with His Request, and He went immediately and took away a pack of Peltry and never came near us after.

Sworn before me on the Holy Evangelist this 13th Day of Augt. 1763 at Montreal.

DANIEL DISNEY,
Town Major.

I Ezekiel Solomon, Resident in the Fort of Michilimackinac at the time it was surprized by the Savages, declare that on the 2d day of June a Frenchman, Mons. Cote, entered my House several Times and carried from thence several Parcels of Goods, my Property. And also an Indian named Sanpear carried the Peltry from my House to the House of Aimable Deniviere in whose Garret I was then concealed. I owed Monsr Arieck a sum of money, but at the time He demanded it the payment was not become due, and I refused to pay Him till the Time I had contracted for; but he told me if I did not pay it he would take it by force: I told him, the Commanding Officer would prevent that, & he replied that the Commanding Officer was nothing, and that he Himself was Commanding Officer. Sworn, &c., 14th Aug., 1763, before me.

DANL DISNEY,
Town Major.

I Ezekiel Solomon, Resident in the Fort of Michilimackinac at the time it was surprized by the savages declare that on the second day of June, 1763, a Frenchman, Monsieur Cote, entered my house several times and carried from thence several parcels of Goods, my property. * * *

The Deposition of Garrit, Roseboom, Tunis, Fischer, Cummin, Shields and Wm. Bruce, Merch's from LaBay, as taken upon Oath before a Court of Enquiry at the Detroit the 4th day of July 1764.

Capt. James Grant, 60th Reg., President.

Lieut. George McDougal, 60 Regt. Lieut. Richard Williams, 60th Regt. Members.

Garrit Roseboom declares that about the latter end of April, 1763, he was going from the Bay to the Soaks to look for his Partnr Abrahm Lancing who had been up there, being told that he was killed, that on his way he met some Indians coming down with some Packs, which he knew to be his, and which they said he might have for paying the carriage; That both the French and Indians told him, Mr. Lancing and his son were killed by two Frenchmen, Tibot & Cardinal, both servts of Mr. Lancing, who, they had been told, upon the above Murder made their escape to the Illinois; that on his return to the Bay he found Mr. Garrit and the Garrison there, and came with them to Michilimackinac, leaving his goods in possession of one Jordan, a Frenchman and an Inhabitant at the Bay; that when he returned from Michilimackinac with the Indians to La Bay, he found some of his goods taken away. He thinks of his and Mr. Fisher's to the value of 20 pounds, wh. he said was stolen by the Indians, but Mr. Roseboom declares he saw his goods wore by Jordan's Family afterwards. That the Indians had often told him that the French at the Bay (in particular Goalie, the Interpreter, to Mr. Garrit, and Langlad his Son in Law Sourini) had told *them* there was an open war between the English and French; That the French would send the Indians ammunition enough & if they went down amongst the English they would put poison in their Rum, which he was sure prevented the Indians from coming down much sooner, and declares from the treatment He and the rest of the English Traders received, and the lyes propagated by the French at LaBay, among the Indians, such as the English being all killed, an open war with the French, the French Fleets and Armies being at Quebec and the Mississippi, he thinks these Inhabitants were very bad subjects, except one Ducharm, a Montreal Merchant, who had come there last Fall, and who treated him very well, and to his knowledge had often endeavored to persuade the Indians, not to believe all that was told them—that it was all a Lye. W Tuenis Fisher, being in Compy with the aforesaid Deponant at La Bay, declares that the Deposition above consists literally, with his knowledge, therefore confirms the Truth thereof; Mr. Cummin Shields declares that he, being at

La Bay all last winter, frequently heard (understanding the French language) the Lyes propagated to disturb the Indians, as already declared by Roseboom and Fisher, and further that he heard Young Langlad say before him and De Chann, that there were 1000 English killed at the Portage of Niagara, 500 Inhabitants on the back Settlements killed, and that some Governor, he does not remember who, had been so hard pushed by the Savages that he had got shipping ready to carry him and his People away, and abandon his province; that the Dauphin of France being displeased with the Peace concluded by his Father, had arrived in the Mississippi with a large Fleet, and that the Indians would be supplied from that quarter with all necessaries that they would want: All this he declared to have read in a news paper which came up to the Priest. That a Frenchman named Knash Bray, who lived with De Charm told him, the Deponant, that he heard Sourini say to DeCharm he would give 20 packs if there never should another Englishman come there. William Bruce declares that in the Spring 1763 hearing Michilimackinac was taken, he came down from the Bay and left his goods in the care of one LeDeuke, a Frenchman; that when he returned he found they were all taken away. LeDeuke said by the Indians. That the Indians who were with him at Michilimackinac asked the two chiefs who were left there, how they could permit their young men to do this; that they said that LeDeuke had robbed the goods himself and desired that they (the Indians) shou'd take them as the English at Michilimackinac were all killed, other Indians wou'd come and take them, that it was well they might have them; That he did not after find any of his Goods in Possession of LeDeuke, but that he carried on a Trade with the Indians all Winter, and to his knowledge he had no Goods before he the Depo- nant, was pillaged, which the other opponents affirm, nor any method, which they could see, by which they might come at goods, except by pil- laging; That in Septembr 1763, there was a letter sent up to LaBay from the Priest at Michilimackinac by one Mastoe, that there had been 400 English and the General who came with them killed at Detroit, this letter was directed to old Langlad, who he, the Deponant saw read the letter to the Indians. That about the latter end of Sept a Chief of the Soaks had brought him up called Lewis Constance & at the Benards Castle, an Indian, told him he was come from LaBay with a letter from Gaolie, the Interpreter, to one LeBeace, telling him that there were officers from France who had come with a large Fleet commanded by the Dauphin, &c, and that the Governor of Quebec had offered these officers a Purse of Money for their News, that soon after the Fleet was seen, and that Quebec and Montreal would soon be taken, being no more than 500 men in Each, which news immediately spread among the Indians, who were there at the time in great numbers; that the Santows, Ottawas,

Renards and Puonts gave a Good Deal of Credit to it having a few days before received a Belt from the Indians about Detroit to come to War against the English but that the Soaks and the Folleasoines could not believe it; That at the Soaks Castle the Indians told him, the Deponant, the French there intended to kill him, on which they called a council and brought the French to it, and told them if they killed the Englishman every Frenchman should die with Him, this had been told him by the Indians to whom the French had discovered their intentions; the Names of the French on the above Voyage up the Tovis Constance were, Martoe, Jordan & Sabeau, Rivier St. Pier, Mon. Fontasil, Havness, Lafortain, the three first discovering all the marks of bad subjects and disaffection to the English in their whole behaviour; That he hear'd St. Pier say that if he had wrote such a letter as the Interpreter wrote to Sabeau, he wo'd expect to be hanged if ever he went among the English; That St. Pier, Rivier, and Fontasie did all they could to prevent the Indians from believing the letter above, that in the opening the Mississippi River his Chief asked the Deponant if these Lands did belong to the English; he said they did, but LaBeau immediately contradicted him and said it was a Lye, and that all was false that the English officers had told him, the Chief, in saying it was Peace between the English & French. There was no such thing, and repeated the contents of Goalie's Letter to the Indians. That when they had come down the Mississippi River about ten days the Indians told him that St. Pier and the other French there had sent a Petition to the Commandant of the Illinois, the Contents of wh. he cou'd not justly tell, but he was informed it began in acquainting them, they had killed the English at Michilimackinac and had not forgot their old Fathers, that one Bonfoi was bearer of said Petition, that he was happy in being told on the return to the Petition the Commdt had ordered them to leave off, & not to kill any English, that in killing them they killed the French, they being one people. That the Pense, Reynards & Soaks wrote down this Spring with the other Nations to Montreal for goods but were prevented by one LeVorn who came from the Illinois, and told them if they went down the English would hang them, and cut off their heads; That they had Plenty of Goods at the Illinois wh. he would bring them; That he and other Frenchmen went off to Illinois for said Goods wh. hindered said Indians from bringing down their Peltry. That Goalie had told the Indians, that the Genl. had sd he cou'd hang Capt. Ethrington if he had a mind, but he would send him to His Majesty.

JAMES GRANT,
GEORGE McDUGAL,
RICH'D WILLIAMS.

COPY OF A SPEECH SENT BY THE SHAWANESE, DATED LOWER SHAWANY TOWN,
JUNE 24, 1764.

Friends and Brothers:

We the Shawanese never intend to be at Variance with our Brs the English, That it is altogether yr own Faults, formerly when a Number of our Nations was going to War agt our Enemies the Catabas and was oblig'd to travel through your Country, then you laid Violence on some of our Warriors & killed them. Brethren, you have this War, asked for a Peace, but don't blame us, but yourselves for our prosecuting the war against you as we have done.

Brethren now be strong and let your hearts be good as ours the Shawanese are and let you and us unanimously to agree in Cultivating a lasting Peace with each other, and in order to confirm that Friendship, you must erect no more Forts on our Ground. Brs when ye went to take Possession of Fort Detroit, we cautioned you against it; we told you the Indians inhabiting that part of the Country were not well, but ill disposed towards you, which you have since found to be true. Yr first work when you arrived there was to build a Fort; this none of us liked, and that was one Chief Reason for our entering into a War against you, as we had sufficient reason to think you intended taking our country from Us.

Brothers, now be strong and let us think of making a firm and lasting Peace with each other; We your Friends, the Shawanese, will help you all in our power, the Delawares, Six Nations & Wyandotts will join us in so good a work. Brethren, we must again excuse ourselves for entering into this present War and look upon ourselves as blameless for it is done. We, and the Delawares, Six Nations & Wyandotts are heartily sorry for it, and think it a Pity to prosecute it, any further, as we think our Numbers full able to oppose those of the English: At the beginning of the War We the Shawanese were well disposed towards you, our hearts were good and are so still, and hope our Brs the English are the same. W with the Six Nations & Wyandotts have no bad thoughts within Us & seem well inclined to renew our ancient Friendship with our Brs the English. Last Summer we went with the Delawares, Six Nations & Wyandotts to Fort Pitt, with a full intent to accomodate Matters, but as we approached that Garrison We were fired upon with their Cannon, wh obliged us to retire without talking to our Brs, and our Foolish Young Men remained there to fight against the Fort. Brs We have collected now everything we have to inform you of at this Time. When our Friend Mr. Smallman was given to us by another Nation, we thought then he might be a useful person when we should come on Speaking terms, to

transact Business between Us; we are now sending him to perform that Duty with a proper interpreter & a Copy of the Letter & make no doubt if our Brothers will again take Us into Favour but they will not detain him.

SPEECH OF THE SIX NATIONS, JUNE 24. 1764.

We having this day met in Council & having weighed talked Matters over, conclude we are not in the fault for entering into a War agt You; but that you are entirely to blame. We told you, our Brs, when you went to take Posts on the Lake, that it was a dangerous undertaking, which you have since experienced & found to be true. We know very well you blame us for wt is past, but if you consider things rightly & do us justice you must needs think the Fault lies among yourselves; the Indians inhabiting all this large country were greatly dissatisfied, having repeatedly told Sr Wm. Johnson to withdraw his men and demolish the fortifications, erected on our Ground. When we saw all other Nations rising to defend themselves and their Country, We thought it expedient and our interest to join them, of which you had timely notice. When you saw this, that yr Brethren the Six Nations had taken up Arms against you, then you solicited for a Peace, wh. Sr. Wm. Johnson has been successful in obtaining, now that we see you inclinable to a Peace wth us as Yr Brethren, the Six Nations gives us great Pleasure as we find ourselves well disposed to enter into our former Love & Friendship wth you. You told us to be strong, & that you would be in good understanding with us, wh pleases much all the neighboring Nations of Indians this Way, you have told us to be strong & the Peace lasting; & if the Shawanese & Delawares wd accept of the same they shd have it. They now agree to it and hope 'tis good on your parts as 'tis on Theirs, & within their Hearts that the Brethren, the English, have no mind any to deceive them. Therefore Brethren be ye strong also and let this Peace be a desirable one. Should you first violate it there is a Good and a bear Witness to it & punish you should you prove faithless. We do not, Brs, only talk for ourselves, but also for the Shawanese and Delawares & Wyandots, who think as We do, that you should do this in yr Hearts, as they & We will observe on our Parts: the Peace that shall now be made shall never be broken on either side, then let us both Parties be strong and think of nothing but what is good.

Brothers, think maturely upon this; do not imagine that what is intimated comes from the mouth only. 'Tis with all Truth & Sincerity from the Heart; besides, we speak for all Indians in this Country, & are taking great pains to communicate this Good Work to all the Western Nations.

MONCKTON TO GLADWIN.

Fort Pitt, July 26, 1760.

Sir: This will be delivered you by Colonel Bouquet²—Who has the command of a detachment, consisting of 400 men of the 1st Batn R. A. R., under Majr Walters, for the relief of Niagra, and of 100 Virginians to take Post at Presque Isle.

By a copy of Genl. Amherst's letter to you, I find, sir, that immediately upon the arrival of the Americans at Presque Isle, you are to embark and transport them across the Lake. But as I have not as yet been able to get up any of the Pensilvaniae Provincials, in time to march with this detachment; (though I expect some in this day) and the 100 Virginians may not be sufficient to keep that Post, till the arrival of the Pensilvanians, (which I am hopeful will be at Presque Isle in two days after this detachment as I shall send them off immediately) I should be glad, if it would be of no detriment to the service, that 150 or less, of the Americans, or of your own detachment, might be left—I think for two days almost—till the arrival of the reinforcement. The more so as I suppose they will be able to join you, before you can get your whale boats back across the carrying place. This you will consult upon with Colonel Bouquet, who is to fix that Post. Besides, sir, the boats that will take them after you, may be those you are directed to leave by the Genls instructions to you, for keeping up the communication between Niagra and Presque Isle.

I should be glad, sir, of your remarks on the distance of your crossing the Lake, of any harbours or creeks, you may have put into, and of the shore; likewise of the situation of the ground where the French store stood, below the Falls.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient

& Hum. Servt.,

ROBT. MONCKTON.

Major Gladwin, of the 80th Regt.

AMHERST TO GLADWIN.

New York, 21st March, 1762.

Sir: Your letter of the 24th and 25th February, Containing Some further Discoveries You had made concerning the Indian plot, came to my hands last Night.

You will see by mine of the 17th instant, in Answer to yours of the 4th ultimo, that I could not give credit to the Indian's intelligence; and I

must confess I am still of the same way of thinking, and imagine the whole will appear to have arisen from Some Drunkenness among themselves.

I However approve of your using all the means in Your power to Come at the Truth of this Affair; and of Your Reporting everything you learn to Governor Gage, who, I am persuaded, will be able to Discover if there is any foundation for the accusation of the People of Montreal.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JEFF. AMHERST.

Major Gladwin; or officer Commandg at Fort Wm. Augustus.

AMHERST TO GLADWIN.

[From the original warrant, now in possession of Rev. Henry Gladwyn Jebb, of Firbeck Hall, Rotherham, England.]

By His Excellency Sir Jeffery Amherst, Knight of the Honorable Order of the Bath, Major General, and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, &c., &c., &c.,

To Major Henry Gladwin, Or Officer Commanding His Majesty's Forces at the Detroit, & its Dependencies.

Whereas it has been Reported to me, that a Cruel & Inhuman Murder was lately committed on the Body of Mr. John Clapham, on the route from the Detroit to Presqu' Isle, Supposed to be Done by Two Panis Slaves, now in custody at your Post, and Assisted by some Indians; And Whereas I Judge it absolutely Necessary that the Perpetrators, & Abettors, of that Horrid Crime, should be Brought to Condign Punishment; I Do, by Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given & granted by His Majesty, Authorise & Require You to Collect as many of the Officers belonging to His Majesty's Troops as you conveniently can, who are Hereby Empowered to Hear & Examine, by Oath, or Otherwise, all such Evidences as can be found, for or against the Two Panis Slaves, Confined for the Murder aforesaid, or any other Person, or Persons, whether Indian, or White, that are anyway Suspected of having been concerned in that Inhuman Act; And according to the Opinion given by the Majority of the Court, after hearing the Information or Evidence, given for & against the Prisoners, You will give immediate Directions, for putting the Sentence, or Sentences, into Execution, Even if they should Extend to Death, provided You think proper to approve of the Same; And You are further Required to See that the said Sentence, or Sentences, are Executed in the most Exemplary & publick manner, that thereby Others may be Deterred from Committing such Cruelties for the Future; And

for Your so doing, this shall be to You, and all Persons Concerned, a Sufficient Warrant & Authority.

Given under my Hand & Seal at Head Quarters, in New York, this 15th Day of September, 1762.

JEFF. AMHERST. [SEAL.]

By His Excellency's Command,

ARTHUR MATR.

LETTER FROM SIR JEFFERY AMHERST TO THE SECRETARY AT WAR.

New York, 17 Sept., 1763.

Sir: As there have been two Deputy Adjutants general serving here, I have taken the liberty to show a mark of my entire satisfaction of Major Gladwin's good conduct, and commendable behaviour, in appointing him a D. Adj. General; but to remain with the troops at the Detroit in the same manner as has been ordered: this is no more than a name, but it should be . . . gracious pleasure to approve it, and honor Major Gladwin with the rank of Lieut. Colonel, I am firmly of opinion that the promotion of so deserving an officer must at any time be a benefit to his Majesty's service, and it is the sole view I have in mentioning it to you.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect regard,

Sir,

Ye

JEFF. AMHERST.

Right Honorable McEllis.

GLADWIN TO AMHERST.

[Original draft of letter in Gladwin's handwriting.]

Detroit, November 1, 1763.

Sir: On the 12th Oct. the enemy sued for peace in a very submissive manner. At that time I was so circumstanced for want of flour that I must either pass or hear them. Of the two I chose the latter, thinking it of the utmost consequence to keep possession of the country. Nevertheless, I made them no promises. I told them the affair of peace lay wholly in your breast, but I did not doubt when you was thoroughly convinced of their sincerity everything would be well again; upon which hostility ceased and they disbursed to their hunting grounds. This gave me an opportunity of getting flour from the country to serve from hand to mouth.

Yesterday Monsieur De Quindre, a volunteer, arrived with dispatches from the Commandant of the Illinois, copies of which I enclose to you. The tenor of that of Pondiac is something extraordinary. The Indians are preparing for peace. I enclose you my answer to their demands.

I believe as things are circumstanced it would be for the good of his Majesty's servants to accommodate matters in Spring. By that time the savages will be sufficiently reduced for want of powder, and I do not imagine there will be any danger of their breaking out again, provided some examples are made of their good subjects, the French, who set them on. No advantages can be gained by prosecuting the war, owing to the difficulty of catching them. Add to this the expense of such a war, which if continued the entire ruin of our peltry trade must follow, and the loss of a prodigious consumption of our merchandise. It will be the means of their retiring, which will reinforce other nations on the Mississippi, whom they will push against us, and make them our enemies forever. Consequently they will render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for us to pass that country. And especially the French have promised to supply them with everything they want.

They have lost between eighty and ninety of their best warriors, but if your Excellency still intends to punish them further for their barbarities, it may be easily done, without any expense to the Crown, by permitting a free sale of rum, which will destroy them more effectually than fire and sword, but on the contrary, if you intend to accommodate matters in Spring, which I hope you will for the above reasons, it may be necessary to send up Sir William Johnson.

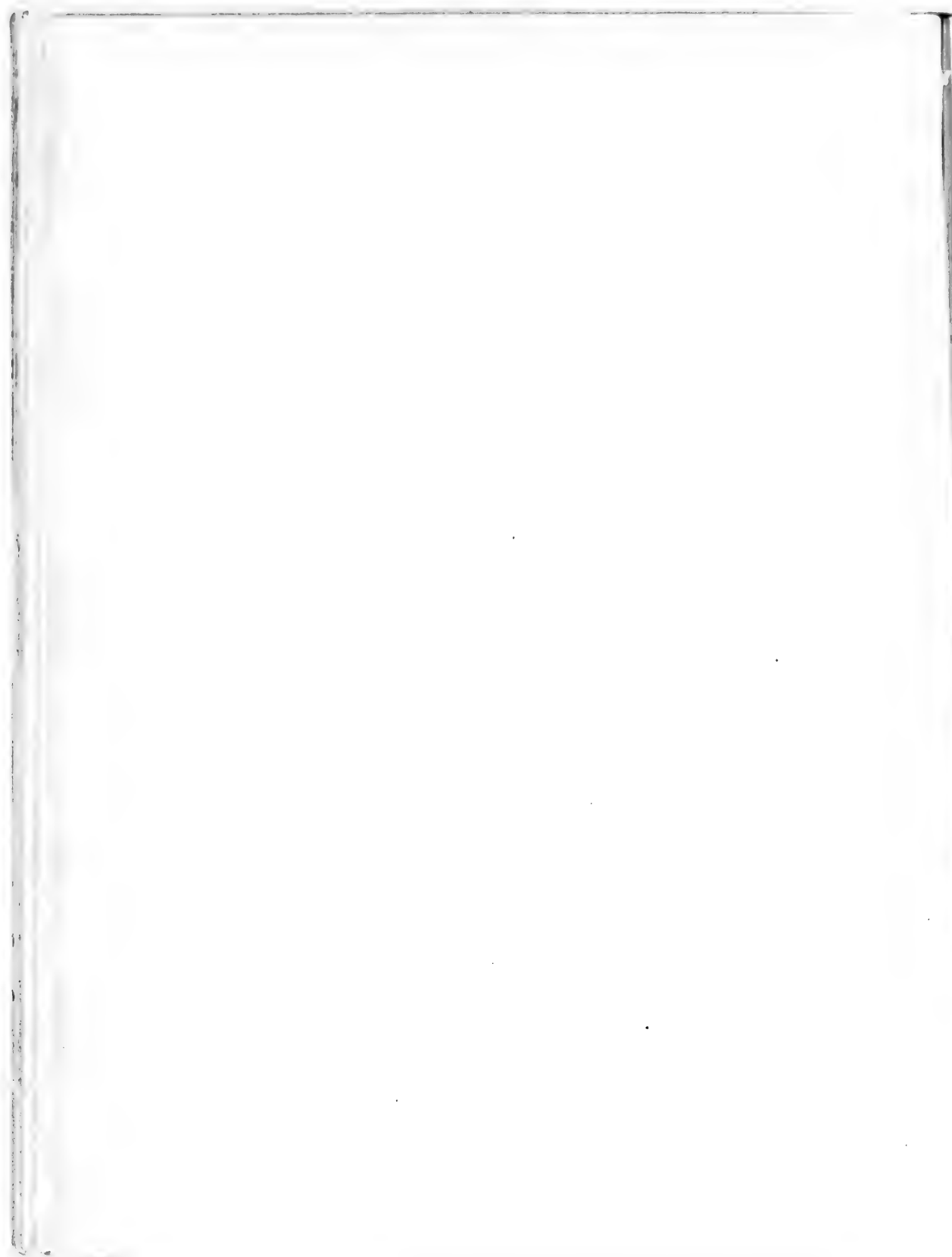
I shall write your Excellency fully concerning everything in this department by Lieutenant Montessor. This comes by Aren, a Mohawk, whom I shall direct to wait at Fort Pitt for your answer.

This moment I received a message from Pondiac, telling me that he should send to all the nations concerned in the war to bury the hatchet, and he hopes your Excellency will forget what is passed. If not, I believe he will retire to the Mississippi.

In a few days I shall send a duplicate of this by Andrew, a faithful Huron. He has a great deal to say with the Delawares. He will try to make matters easy that way. I shall direct him to assure them of a peace provided they remain quiet during the winter, which may perhaps ease our frontiers of those villains, and in Spring your Excellency can do as you please with them.

No news of the troops nor of the vessel which sailed from hence the 7th of last Month. If the troops do not come very soon they will scarcely have time to return to Niagara, but I hope they will come time enough to destroy that nest of thieves at Sandusky. When things are accommodated, if your excellency allows an exclusive trade for a year or two to

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above reasons it may be necessary
to send up Sir William Johnson.



the merchants who have suffered so much by this unhappy affair, they will be amply paid for their loss.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

H. G.

Enclosed:

To General Amherst, November 1, 1763.

COL. GLADWIN TO GEN. GAGE.

[From Gladwin's draft of the letter, written at Stabbing, England.]

February, 24, 1774.

Dear Sir: Your most obliging letter of the 9th instant did not come to hand till two days ago. The cover was very dirty and worn out, therefore I conclude that either your servant or mine by mistake had kept it in his pocket for a week; I wrote to Meyrick yesterday to send me down a letter of attorney, and desired him that if he met with any difficulties to apply to you, not doubting your good offices. I am prone to thank you for your friendly and good advice, and I begin to think I am as bad a politician as a courtier. To give you an instance of the former latter. When I was presented to the king to thank him for the rank he gave me, I was asked how long I had been in town. I replied, "three weeks." George Wert, who stood at my elbow, told me I should have said just arrived, but as I went to Court only upon that occasion, and thought it probable that I should never go there again, I conceived there was no harm in speaking the truth.

In regard to my politics you find me just as I left you in America, which may suffice to show you that I am not calculated to push myself in the world. Besides I am now engaged in another scene, being very happy in a good . . . wife and two little children, upon a small paternal estate, and am fond of farming and rural amusements. As to company, I keep but little, because I cannot afford to live in the stile of my neighbours. Nevertheless I am happy content. From this account of myself, I daresay you will not be surprised when I tell you that I should prefer a small sincere government at home to all future expectations in the army. I should be satisfied with anything that would better my income two or three hundred a year. On the other hand, I do not suppose I could get put in a lieutenant colonel anywhere without purchasing, for my friends are out of power, and I think likely to continue so. With such interest I should stand but a poor chance in being a candidate for a regt. and I have not the way to make friends in another quarter to assist me in so capital a thing, wherefore I shall endeavor to make myself as comfortable as I can in my present situation and not sore beyond my reach.

If anything should draw you into these Northern parts, I should be extremely glad to see you here in my little way; if not I do not despair of seeing and waiting upon you in London before you leave the King, if I can get leave.

Endorsed:

To General Gage, February 24, 1774.

WM. AMHERST TO COL. BOUQUET.

New York, June 14, 1762.

Sir: I enclose to you the orders given out here containing the Promotions that have been made; I beg leave to congratulate you on seeing your name amongst them.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Yr Most obedt humble Servt.

WM. AMHERST.

Col. Bouquet.

Endorsed:

Coll. Amherst, June 14th, 1762. Received the 28th. Answerd 12th July.

[Canadian Archives, Series A, Vol. 4, page 137.] (Promotions not enclosed. A. R.)

LETTER TO MAJOR GLADWIN.

Fort Pitt, the 28th Augt., 1763.

Dear Sir: I had last night the very great pleasure to receive your Letter of the 28th July by your express Andrew who says he was detained by sickness at Sandusky. Your Letters for the General are forwarded. A Mohawk having reported to Sir Wm. Johnson that De Troite was taken, I could not help being uneasy tho Long acquainted with Indian Lies.

It was a great satisfaction to me to know from yourself that you have been able to defend that post, with so few men against that multitude, what was known below of your firm and prudent conduct from the beginning of the Insurrection had obtained the General's approbation, and does you the greatest honor.

The loss of all our Detach'd Posts is no more than could be expected from their Defenceless state, But Capt. Campbell's Death affects me sensibly.

I pity the unfortunate who remain Yet in the Power of the Barbarians, as every step we take to rescue them may and will probably hasten their Death.

Your Express says that after he left the De Troite, two Wiandots told him that the Detachment of 300 men from Niagara had joyn'd you with

provis's. This will give you some ease till more effectual Reinforcements can be sent.

You know that you are to have the Command of all the Troops destin'd for De Troite and to retake possession of the Country now fallen into the hands of the Enemy. To that effect the General collects all the Troops that can be spar'd at Niagara and Presque Isle.

The remains of the 42nd and 77th were order'd to Joyn you this way when we had Intelligence that Venang had been surprised, Lieut. Gordon and all his unfortunate Garrison murdered. Le Boeuf abandoned and Presque Isle surrender'd to my unspeakable astonishment, as I knew the strength of that Block house which would have been relieved from Niagara.

* * * * *

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and Humble Servant,

Major Gladwin.

(Sic.)

Endorsed:

To Major Gladwin, 25th August, 1763.
[Canadian Archives, Series A, Vol. 19-2, page 376.]

LETTER FROM DAVID FRANKS.

Pha., Octr. 15, 1763.

Sir: This day the post in & brot acct of the Packetts' arrival, and prints to 16th August frim England & inclose you the papers, containing the most materiall news. there's reports in Town that Sr. Jeffery has Leave to go home, & that a Commissn for Dy Adjutant Generall is come over for Major Gladwin and that 3000 Troops are coming over. I have not time to Ferutt out the Truth of these reports—nor is any Letters I may have yett come to hand, by wch I might have any advice—No Letters frim Sr. Jeffery to forwd upp there 12 day's Post have advised him of the reports of the communication to ye Post being again infested with Indians, if any hope ye number may be but few & hourly expect ye Pleasure to hear from you, that you and your Garrison are all well.

* * * * *

Dear Sir,

Yr. most obeidt. hb. Servt.

DAVID. FRANKS.

Endorsed:

Mr. D. Franks, 15th October, 1763. Received the 6th Novr.
[Canadian Archives, Series A, Vol. 19-2, page 495.]

MAJOR GLADWIN TO COL. BOUQUET.

Detroit, Novr. 1, 1763.

Dear Sir: I am to acknowledge the receipt of your two very kind letters of the 28th August & 29th September. I congratulate you on the drubbing you gave the dogs which *does* you so much honor—and I doubt not our frontier inhabitants have felt the good effects of it, they never will enter into such a war again, with that confidence they engaged in this, which I believe they would not have undertaken, but for our good subjects the French.

I have had no late accounts from below, the last I received from the General is of the 2nd of July, in which I am ordered to establish the outposts immediately, at the time I received these orders, I knew it was impossible to comply with any part of them, the event shows I was right in my conjectures. I am heartily wearied of my command and I have signified the same to Colonel Amherst, I hope I shall be relieved soon, if not, I intend to quit the service for I would not chuse to be any longer exposed to the villany and treachery of the settlement and Indians.

I hope the General has countermanded his order about the reinforcement you were to send me, because they can be of no use here this advanced season—besides I don't see how they can leave Presque Isle if they get thither, supposing that post was re-established which I believe is not the case, owing to the loss of the sloop but if they should come contrary to expectation, you may be assured Sir, I shall dispatch the Royal Americans immediately, perhaps I may have an opportunity of sending them down, in lieu of other troops that are coming up.

I need not say any thing of our affairs here, as you must have heard enough of it from other hands, but I send you my dispatch to the General open for your perusal, pray let me know what passes in your Department, I shall be happy to hear of your health and welfare & believe me to be,

Dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

HENRY GLADWIN.

I desire to be remembered to the Gentlemen with you, seal my dispatches to the General and be kind enough to forward them the first opportunity.

Endorsed:

Letter from Major Gladwin to Colonel Bouquet, dated Detroit, 1st November, 1763. Received by the Mohawk Aron the 29th at night.

[Canadian Archives, Series A, Vol. 19-2, page 520.]

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